

THE TRIAL OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN
BEFORE THE LISBON INQUISITION

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

by

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GEORGE BUCHANAN
BEFORE THE LISBON INQUISITION
INCLUDING
THE TEXT OF BUCHANAN'S DEFENCES
ALONG WITH A TRANSLATION AND
COMMENTARY.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

I THE EVENTS.

The process against George Buchanan, as it is set forth in the Inquisition Records, falls naturally into four chapters as follows:-

(1) The preliminary proceedings which led to the order for his arrest. These proceedings began on 17 October 1549 and ended on 1 August 1550.

(2) The arrest of Buchanan and Diogo de Teive and the sequestration of their effects - events that took place at Coimbra on 10 and 11 August 1550.

(3) The trial proper from the delivery of Buchanan to the gaoler of the Lisbon Inquisition on 15 August 1550 to the last examination of Buchanan on 15 May 1551.

(4) The sentence passed on Buchanan, his abjuration and subsequent penal detention till his final release on 29 February 1552 - the date of the last entry in these Records.

I shall detail the course of events under these four heads, referring where necessary to the fortunes of Diogo de Teive and Joam da Costa, Buchanan's partners in misfortune.

1. Preliminary Proceedings.

'The Depositions against Master Joham da Costa and Master Diogo de Teive and Master George Buchanan, which came from France, and were the cause of their arrest!'

Such is the heading of the portion of the Records we are now reviewing. The first document is entitled as follows:-

'Order for an Inquest which the Cardinal Prince, High Inquisitor of these Realms of Portugal, ordered to be held in connection with the said Commission in France.'

The order (which comprises a commission given auctoritate apostolica to Father Friar Duarte and the Licentiate Braz d'Alvide) is signed by the Cardinal Prince, Dom Henrique, and was executed at Lisbon 17 October 1549. The notary was one Antonio Rodrigues, whose name we shall frequently meet. The operative words are best quoted:-

'We ... make known to you ... that it is necessary for the service of Our Lord and the welfare of this Holy Office of the Inquisition, that we should be informed as to the mode of life and habits of both the Portuguese and the foreigners who came to this Kingdom to reside and teach in the University of Coimbra, where they now are. We therefore charge you to take, with all secrecy, in proper form, the evidence of the Priest, Friar Joam Pinheiro, a Portuguese, who is in your city of Paris, and who is a Dominican, together with the evidence of such other witnesses as he may indicate, and others who may appear to be necessary, so that the truth of the affair may be known with all possible secrecy and exactitude. And the said witnesses must declare, specifically, the persons with regard to whom they give information, and the faults of which they are aware, giving full particulars, so that the quality of the faults of which they have been guilty may be understood, and how they came to know of them, stating the period, and everything else which may appear to be advisable should be known in such important cases.'

1H capture

These extracts are from Records No. 9510 (see the Critical Introduction below).

The Licentiate Braz d'Alvide, described in the commission as a 'Judge of the Court of Appeal' and by himself as 'a nobleman of the King's household' was specially sent to France for the inquiry¹ during which - as instructed - he acted as Registrar. The depositions are thus all in his hand. Friar Duarte acted as 'Examiner and Judge of the Cause'. His full name was Duarte da Apresentacao (or in Latin, as he signs himself, Eduardus Presentatus) and he was a Portuguese subject, then resident in the Augustinian Monastery at Paris.

The inquiry opened on 22 November 1549 - Braz d'Alvide doubtless required the best part of the intervening month to travel from Lisbon to Paris - and was held in the Licentiate's lodgings 'near to Saint Gervais'. Seven witnesses in all were examined, and their depositions signed by the witness and both commissioners follow in due order.

Names and personal details of the witnesses are as follows:-

(1) Friar Joam Pinheiro, 'a Portuguese, Collegiate in the College of Saint Dominic' at Paris. This witness was the only one named in the commission.²

(2) Doctor Master Diogo de Gouveia. This witness was referred to by Pinheiro, but whether this can sufficiently account for his giving evidence on the opening day of the the inquiry must be considered later.²

¹This was in accordance with the usual practice when evidence had to be collected from a distance, but the rank of the Licentiate emphasizes the importance attached to the present proceedings.

²For further details of these two men (the most important witnesses) see Appendix 7.

(3) Joannes Ferrerius, 'tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal of Scotland', upon whom may God have mercy'. This witness gave his evidence in Latin 'as he cannot speak Spanish (sic)¹. He, and those who follow, were examined on the 27 November. Ferrerius, a Piedmontese by birth, is known in Scottish literature as the continuator of Boece.

(4) Simon Simson, a Scot, doctor of sacred theology at Paris. He also testified in Latin.

These last two witnesses were referred to by Diogo de Gouveia as his authorities for certain details of Buchanan's life in Scotland, and were interrogated on this point.

(5) Jean Talpin, master of arts, a Frenchman who also deposed in Latin. He had, as he remarks, been a regent at the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux for five years¹, where he had known the suspects well. His name was mentioned by Pinheiro.

(6) Doctor Master Alvaro da Fonseca, Doctor in Holy Theology, a Portuguese. This witness, who was examined because of a reference by Pinheiro, could give little information.

(7) Sebastian Rodrigues, 'a Portuguese, now living in this University of Paris' was the last witness to be examined by the commissioners, which was done on 21 December. He was cited on a reference by Pinheiro.

The essential parts of the testimony of these witnesses will be quoted verbatim as required in the commentary and elsewhere,²

¹The approximate dates seem to be 1539-43.

²In what follows I insert the relevant references.

but it seems desirable to insert here a brief analysis of the evidence as against Buchanan. It should, of course, be remembered that the Paris depositions incriminate not only Buchanan, but also (and indeed to a greater extent) Costa and Teive; while further evidence against Buchanan was later collected in Portugal.

Analysis of Pinheiro's Evidence

A. Direct Charges.

(1) He always suspected that Costa, Teive, Buchanan and others who went from Bordeaux to Coimbra were Lutherans.

(2) In private conversation at Bordeaux the three named and others jested with him on religious subjects - e.g. the eating of meat and the state of the monastic orders (pp.87ff).

This charge incriminated Costa and Teive more than Buchanan, yet this Bordeaux conversation is the best authenticated of Pinheiro's charges, and formed the basis of much of the questioning of Buchanan.

B. Indirect Charges ie. those made on Hearsay Evidence.

(1) Pero Luz said that Dom Lopo d'Almeida 'who had been living at Bordeaux' said that Costa, Teive and Buchanan were Lutherans.

(2) The same three suspects, when at Paris, constantly conversed with suspected persons. This is stated on the authority of the following: - (a) Dr. Diogo de Gouveia; (b) Master Sebastian (Rodrigues); (c) Dr. Mongelos; (d) Master Jean Talpin 'for a long time Regent at Bordeaux'. Gouveia, Rodrigues and Talpin generally confirmed Pinheiro. Dr. Nicolas Mongelos was not called as a witness. He has been described as 'Un prêtre, nommé Nicolas Hirigaray, né au pays basque, au bourg

de Mongelos, dont il avait pris le nom, plus facile à retenir que le sien'. Though a man of some erudition he was devoted to the Catholic cause, and had no sympathy for the new learning. A doctor of theology of Paris, he had been professor of philosophy at the Collège de Lisieux, and then taught at Ste.-Barbe in 1539-40. He became at a later date Principal of the Collège de Guyenne - from February 1556 to July 1562 (Gauilleur pp.247-66).

(3) Teive conversed with reputed atheists - stated on authority of Talpin and Dr. Alvaro da Fonseca; confirmed by the former, but not in express terms by the latter.

(4) Teive held loose moral views as illustrated by a remark of his - stated on the second-hand authority of Talpin who confirms Pinheiro on this point.

(5) Teive, Buchanan and Costa were considered Lutherans as they frequently argued doubtfully upon things of the Faith - stated on the authority of Talpin and confirmed. In particular, Buchanan according to Talpin, had upheld on the authority of St. Augustine unorthodox eucharistic views. Talpin did not confirm this charge but it is admitted in substance by Buchanan himself (pp.23ff).

(6) The 'Paschal Lamb' charge against Buchanan - on second-hand authority of Diogo de Gouveia (who confirms, and cites his authorities) and that of 'many people' (On this charge see Appendix 2).

(7) Buchanan ate meat in Lent while at Paris - on second-hand authority of Diogo de Gouveia, but not confirmed by him.

(8) Indefinite charge of the unorthodox teaching of 'a learned man' who preached at Bordeaux - stated on the authority of

Antonio Mendes (pp.134 ff.)

There follow various charges (mainly hearsay) against certain Frenchmen who were not put on trial. Finally, Pinheiro replied to the usual questions¹ 'that he had studied humanities under most of those mentioned, in the College at Bordeaux'.

Analysis of Diogo de Gouveia's Evidence.

(1) Costa was a pupil of Cop, 'a great Lutheran, as was proved by the judicial proceedings in the Parliament Court of this city'.²

(2) He also conversed with monks of the Third Order of St. Francis in France 'who are all held to be great Lutherans'.

(3) At Bordeaux he was the companion of 'Master George' a Scotsman and others who - on the authority of Master Nicolas Mongelos - were all worthless; and he exercised an evil influence on others. This is stated on the authority of various persons.

(4) Nothing alleged against Teive except his companionship with other suspects.

(5) Against Buchanan is alleged the 'Paschal Lamb scandal', on the authority of Simon Simson, 'the tutor to the Cardinal of Scotland's nephews, whose name Deponent does not know',³ and 'Master Joam Soard, who is now in this City, also a Scotsman'.⁴

¹The questions which were and are always put to witnesses in Portugal are - if they are related to the prisoner or defendant, and if they have any special feeling of friendship or enmity - Henriques' note.

²See p. xxxii

³He was, of course, Ferrerius.

⁴Presumably John Seward. He was not summoned as a witness. Could the commissioners not trace him?

There follow various allegations against the Frenchmen as made by Pinheiro. 'To the usual questions he replied, nothing.'

The evidence of Ferrerius and Simson is against Buchanan only, and is concerned with the 'Paschal Lamb scandal', of which they give the popular account. For the details of their stories see Appendix 2. Ferrerius in particular gives some biographical data about Buchanan. To the usual questions Simson replied 'nothing', Ferrerius said 'that he loved the said George Buchanan as a brother, but, being sworn in a holy cause, he had testified the truth'.¹

Analysis of Evidence of Jean Talpin.

Talpin's evidence is more copious, and compromises all three of the principal suspects, though against Buchanan there is little more than general suspicions. His charges may be summarized as follows:-

- (1) Against all three - suspicion of Lutheranism from their talk and general manner of life;
- (2) Against Teive - tendency to Epicureanism and atheism as shown by his conversation and his friendship with Dolet, an atheist burnt at Paris;²
- (3) Against Teive - utterance of immoral sentiments;
- (4) Against Costa - consorting with Lutherans and atheists;

¹I am disposed to accept this as true, inasmuch as it must have required some courage to make this declaration before the Inquisition. Ferrerius also claims to have known Buchanan 'familiariter'. If true, this clearly adds weight to his evidence.

²Etienne Dolet, the scholar, burnt 3 August 1546 at Paris. Atheism was a leading charge. Talpin cites as his authority for the alleged friendship of Teive and Dolet the servant of the latter (whom he does not name).

(5) Against Costa - his acquaintance with a blasphemous Gascon nobleman of whom an anecdote is told on the authority of a trustworthy doctor;

(6) Against Costa and Teive on the same authority - suspicious conduct at a banquet when the same noble uttered blasphemies.

There follows a charge against Guérentel¹ which repeats that made by Pinheiro earlier.

Asked the usual questions, Talpin replied that all mentioned were his friends.² In short addendum to his main evidence he mentions a certain Antonio³, a professor at Coimbra, and a former servant of the late André de Gouveia whom he considered to have been weak in the Faith.

The evidence of Dr. Alvaro da Fonseca came to little so far as Buchanan was concerned. He testified only.

(1) that in Paris Teive used to converse with one St. Martin, a Norman, who was arrested as a heretic;

(2) that 'he heard say' that Teive 'thought badly of the Faith, and Buchanan the Scotsman, also'.

To the customary questions he replied that he was the friend of all of them.

Sebastian Rodrigues admits he knows nothing definite. His evidence is indeed second-hand. He deposes as follows:-

¹Guillaume Guérente, a professor at Bordeaux and Coimbra.

²For Talpin's grievance against André de Gouveia see *Cauvillieur* pp.169ff.

His complaint was the withholding of certain moneys.

³Possibly Antonio Mendes, a professor at Bordeaux and Coimbra.

(1) 'that he heard it commonly said by many persons . . . that the Portuguese, French and Scots' in question 'felt badly as regards the Faith'. Authorities cited are the Bishop of Tangier's nephews, Diogo Mendes, Miguel de Cabedo and Friar Joam Pinheiro, who had been pupils at Bordeaux. (See Appendix 7)

(2) also that he had heard that Buchanan had fled from Scotland as a heretic.

(3) In an addendum Rodrigues stated that 'when Friar Jorge de Santiago,¹ Antonio de Mello and Francisco Foreiro and others went from this City of Paris to become Monks, as they now are, of the Order of St. Dominic, they passed through Bordeaux and one or two of them wrote to him that many things about the Religious Orders had passed between them and the before-mentioned persons, who were in the College there, the impression created being that they felt badly as regards the Faith, as may be more extensively and particularly ascertained from the said Monks.'

The first two charges add nothing to the case against the prisoners except that the general suspicion existing is again confirmed. The third charge, if true, is important enough; but we would surely have heard more about it if one of the judges had had such a conversation with the prisoners, and Costa's evidence gives a very different picture of Friar Jorge de Santiago's impressions of Bordeaux.²

¹One of Buchanan's judges.

²He says that it was in consequence of the high terms in which Friar Jeronymo de Padilha and Friar Jorge de Santiago spoke of the Collège de Guyenne that D. João resolved to send for the professors. (Evidence of Costa as given by Henriques p.xvii).

To the usual questions Rodrigues replied in the negative. In fact on his own admission he had for some time ceased to converse with the suspects - hence his evidence has virtually no direct value.

The rest of this chapter cannot be told better than in the words of the original as translated by Henriques:-

'And with the depositions hereinbefore contained, I closed the said Examination, in order to send it to the Cardinal Prince.

BRAZ D'ALVIDE

'On the 27th day of June in the year 1550, in Lisbon, I, the notary, handed these Depositions to His Highness. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

'In view of the crimes against our Holy Faith, which are shown by these Depositions to have been committed by Master Joam da Costa, and Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, We, with the approval of the undersigned, order them to be arrested.

THE CARDINAL PRINCE

THE BISHOP OF OPORTO

THE BISHOP OF ANGRA

J. MONTEIRO¹

'On the first day of the month of August, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, these papers were delivered to me, the Notary, with this Order from His Highness, to be carried out to the letter thereof. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.'

2. Arrest and Sequestration.

We have seen that on 1 August 1550 the notary received the order of arrest, and it was soon carried out. Owing to the habitual secrecy of the Inquisition arrest came always as a sudden and

¹All members of the Supreme Court of the Portuguese Inquisition. The Cardinal Prince, Dom Henrique, was Inquisitor-General. The Bishop of Oporto was a Carmelite friar, Dom Balthasar Limpo, a learned, austere, sincere fanatic. He is referred to by Herculano as being influential in persuading Paul III to consent to the final establishment of the Inquisition in 1548. The Bishop of Angra was Ruy Gomes Pinheiro, a deputy of the Inquisition since 1539. João Monteiro is also mentioned by Herculano as a partisan of the Inquisition (English translation p. 413).

unexpected blow, the suspect being kept in ignorance of any inquiries into his conduct.

Joam da Costa was arrested in Lisbon. We cannot tell now whether he was in the capital on his own business or had been sent for purposely. Teive and Buchanan were arrested at Coimbra, not by the local authorities, but by a member of the Lisbon Court who had been sent for the purpose.¹ We possess the minutes concerning this event which are headed as follows:-

'Minutes which Doctor Jorge Gonçalves,² Deputy of the Holy Inquisition in this city of Coimbra, ordered to be drawn up, relating to certain proceedings which he was charged by the Cardinal Prince to take in connection with the arrest of Doctor Master Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, Professors of the College of His Highness, I mean to say, of Our Lord the King.'

I can only summarize these minutes here. The first recounts the following facts:-

On 10 August 1550, in the Episcopal Palace of the Bishop of Coimbra,³ Teive and Buchanan, who had been summoned by the Bishop, were informed by him (in the presence of the Deputy Inquisitor) of the Order of His Highness the Cardinal Prince; they were asked to surrender the keys of their chambers and boxes (which they did), and were then locked up in the Bishop's palace.⁴

¹This action can only be interpreted as taken out of consideration for the dignity of those about to be arrested.

²Jorge Gonçalves Ribeiro, a Dominican friar, and assessor to the Holy Office at Lisbon for thirty years.

³He was João Soares, an Augustinian friar, sometime confessor to the King, who has been described as 'a friar of little instruction, but of great boldness and extremely ambitious... He is a dangerous man, and of dissolute life. The King's palace is his convent.' (Instructions to the Coadjutor of Bergamo, 1536, quoted by Herculanio Eng. trans. p. 429)

⁴An incomplete minute tells us that the prisoners were confined 'in the room looking on to the Upper Garden'.

Meanwhile the Inquisitor and Notary, accompanied by two witnesses (Dr. Marcos Romeiro and a priest Friar Martinho de Ledesma¹), went at once to Teive's lodgings and searched his books and papers, finding Calvin's Institutio. On Teive's request they sent him certain moneys² along with clothing 'for the journey'. 200 milreis, which Teive declared belonged to the King for payment of the Collegiates, was for the present put aside in safety.

The party then went to Principal Costa's rooms, and afterwards to Buchanan's, and all books considered suspicious were listed and placed in safety under the charge of the Inquisitor.³ Certain moneys found were, on Buchanan's request, conveyed to him with an important document,⁴ and he admitted that all his money was there.

It is stated that all the witnesses examined everything personally, and were carefully charged by the Inquisitor. The proceedings were signed by the two witnesses above named, the Inquisitor, Pero and Simon Fernandes, Solicitors of the Holy Inquisition, and Ayres Botelho, Provisor of the Bishop of Coimbra. The Notary (as in all these minutes) was one Diogo Osorez.

The second minute deals in minute particularity with the means taken to safeguard Costa's chamber, his robes as Principal, and his library. His rooms were nailed up, and Master Antonio Mendes took responsibility for them. 'without further inventory' This

¹Both members of the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra University.

²Equivalent to 'nine pounds sterling, the purchasing power of which was at that period equal to five times that sum at the present day.' (Henriques).

³For Buchanan's library at this time see Appendix 6.

⁴Probably of the nature of a security for some loan, or a Title Deed (Henriques' note).

minute is signed by the Inquisitor, the witnesses Ledesma and Romeiro and Antonio Mendes.

The third minute is dated 11 August. In an audience at the Palace the Inquisitor asked the prisoners 'what more of their belongings they wished to have, and to whom did they wish their clothes to be entrusted, and in what way?' The prisoners in both cases replied that they had on the previous day received all the money that was their personal property. Teive desired his clothes and the keys of his lodgings to be entrusted to Antonio Mendes, while Buchanan chose Master Nicolas Grouchy; both men were present and accepted the charge, whereupon the deputy ordered a minute to be drawn up and signed by all parties. It was further agreed that the money for the Professors (which was in Teive's box) should be counted, and given to 'Masters Antonio and Nicolas in the chest in which it was, each one to have his own key'.¹ The key of the works was given to Diogo de Castilho, citizen. These minutes were signed by Teive, Grouchy, Mendes and the Inquisitor,² and witnessed by the solicitors Fernandez, Castilho, Antonio Mendez,³ Chamberlain of the Lord Bishop, and Master Guillaume,⁴ Professor.

¹This device of separate keys was used frequently by the Spanish Inquisition to prevent speculation - an aim that was not always realized (Lea ii. 230).

²Buchanan surely must have signed also, but if so his signature has been accidentally omitted by Henriques.

³The context seems to show that this Antonio Mendez is to be distinguished from his namesake who is always styled Master Antonio (Mendes) and who was the professor at Bordeaux and Coimbra. Master Antonio is never called Chamberlain, and he would not have signed again as a witness a document he had already signed as a party. A glance at the original signatures would doubtless confirm this conjecture.

⁴Master Guillaume is Guillaume Guérente, a professor at Bordeaux and Coimbra.

The fourth minute recounts the handing over of the money referred to above - in all 179,600 reis - to Masters Antonio and Nicolas, who undertook to account for it when called upon. Diogo de Castilho also received 9,800 reis for the payment of the works. The recipients of these funds signed this minute, along with the Inquisitor and the two Solicitors of the ~~name~~ Fernandez.

The final minute (excluding the incomplete fragment) recounts the handing over of the prisoners 'in accordance with the Rules of Procedure' to Roy Diaz, a citizen of Coimbra, for delivery in the city of Lisbon. Diaz accepted delivery and signed the minute in token of receipt along with the Inquisitor and the following witnesses of the transaction - Pero Fernandes, Antonio Mendez (the Lord Bishop's Chamberlain), Diogo Rodrigues (a citizen of Coimbra), Vasco Affonso (a priest in Holy Orders) and Antonio Madeira (the Lord Bishop's servant). Pero Fernandes was also in charge of the prisoners.

These events took place on 11 August, and in a few days the journey to Lisbon (approximately 250 miles) was completed, and the next chapter of the proceedings opened.

3. The Examinations of Buchanan.

The first entry runs thus¹:-

Of Master George Buchanan.

¹The documents already considered are Extracts from Processo No. 9510. We now have to deal with the records of Buchanan's trial - Processo No. 6469. See Critical Introduction.

On the fifteenth day of the month of August in the year 1550, in Lisbon, there was delivered in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, to Ignacio Nunez,¹ the Gaoler of the said prison, Master George Buchanan, who was arrested in Coimbra, and delivered, on the said day, to the said Gaoler; and, in testimony of the truth, the said Ignacio Nunez¹ signed here. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

IGNACIO NUNEZ.

We must now imagine Buchanan confined for long months in the secret prison of the Lisbon Inquisition, and having no communication with the outside world or with his companions in misfortune. He may not even have known of Costa's arrest. The dreadful monotony of his imprisonment was only broken by his successive examinations before his judges as the slow and cumbrous mechanism of the Inquisition proceeded with his trial.

The prisons of the Inquisition comprised two distinct types - the secret prison, where prisoners on trial were confined; and the punitive, or penitential, prison. It was one of what from a modern standpoint seem the many anomalies of the Holy Office that detention in the former prison was so much more grievous than in the latter. This was mainly due to the great precautions taken to exclude the prisoner on trial from all contact with the external world which might aid him in his defence. The whole system of the Inquisition as it developed in Spain and Portugal was based on the assumption that the accused was probably guilty, and hence every possible means must be taken to prevent him escaping by

¹H Martins. I follow his Portuguese text.

making a successful defence, and everything be done to break down his passive resistance and make him confess.¹ That this statement is not exaggerated can easily be proved by the shameless partiality of the whole judicial procedure to the side of the prosecution.

This carefully enforced seclusion from the outside world must in itself have made the prisons of the Inquisition peculiarly terrible; nowhere else was such segregation a universal rule.² Such strict precautions were taken to prevent any smuggling of messages in or out that only by bribery of an official was there any chance of a prisoner knowing whether his relatives or friends were alive or dead. It is true that not everywhere were the regulations carried out to the letter; but in the case of Lisbon we have the authority of Herculano for asserting that the secrecy of the prison was wellnigh absolute.

The state of the prisons of the Inquisition was not necessarily intolerable, apart from this secrecy. Conditions varied from tribunal to tribunal and age to age; but, though some cases did occur that justify the lurid fancies of the popular imagination concerning the dungeons of the Inquisition, Lea is of the opinion that in Spain at least the prisons of the Inquisition were

¹In theory the object of the Inquisition was not the punishment of crime but the saving of souls. This is one reason why confession was much more important and desirable than in a secular court. Another reason was that it was considered that confession cured all juridical defects in the trial: and also a confession might incriminate other victims yet unknown.

²Confinement incommunicado could, of course, be ordered in State prisons in special cases.

every possible way. Yet, despite all efforts, a clever prisoner might, through his knowledge of his enemies and the indications afforded by the line of examination, be able to make a shrewd guess at some of the witnesses against him.

Even so, the prisoner's main dilemma was a grave one. He knew that there was against him a certain amount of evidence, but how much he could not know; if, however, he denied everything and persisted in such denial (no easy course in view of the keenness of his examinations and the constant pressure of his judges) he might even go to the stake as an impenitent negativo, or at all events be tortured to induce a confession that would 'satisfy the evidence'. So, apart from the fact that few prisoners were wholly guiltless of indiscretion at the least, some sort of confession was advisable to enable the prisoner to escape as easily as possible.

But confession raised new problems. Confession had to be complete to be efficacious; the diminuto was regarded as scarcely better than the negativo and little allowance was made even for natural lapses of memory. A confession which did not 'satisfy the evidence' might be regarded as incomplete and unsatisfactory, and the final sentence would consequently be harder. Thus the unfortunate prisoner, guessing in the dark, had to solve a host of problems such as - Should he confine his confession to the minimum at the risk of its being regarded as unsatisfactory and thus increasing his peril? or should he confess everything (so far as he could remember) and thereby run the risk of admitting himself more than had ever been witnessed against him? or should he

even confess more than he had been guilty of to forestall the possible exaggerations of hostile witnesses? It is no wonder that these complications frequently caused variation of confessions and the revocation of confessions already made. The vario and the revocante (to use the Spanish terms) were more severely punished than if they had persisted in their original confessions. If we keep these general considerations in mind, we shall be better able to appreciate Buchanan's difficulties, and to understand certain expressions in his Defences (or Confessions, as the inquisitors would term them). We shall also, I think, be prepared to judge leniently any deviations from literal truth.

I now append a brief résumé of the course of Buchanan's trial. It must always be remembered, of course, that Buchanan knew nothing to start with (and even later, knew only what he could guess) of the first chapter of the proceedings against him.

First Examination of Buchanan, 18 August 1550, before the Bishop of Angra and Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja.

Buchanan was (as usual) sworn upon the Gospels, and asked a number of routine questions - on his age, family, education and the like. Then to a general question - which in effect was if he was conscious of any heretical acts or words - he mentioned his satires against the Franciscans (apparently supposing this was the main complaint against him, though in fact no witness had referred to it), and his reading of heretical books in England. This led naturally to some inconclusive questioning on current heresies. He was finally admonished in the usual formula (repeated in essence at every examination) to confess and unburden

his conscience.

This examination seems merely preliminary. We may note that Buchanan as yet seems to have no idea of the charges made against him. Indeed, to the end of his life (as the account in the Vita shows) he believed that his satires against the Franciscans were partly responsible for his troubles in Portugal.

I might mention in passing that the records of all the examinations were written by the notary Antonio Rodrigues, and signed by Buchanan and the judges present.

Second Examination of Buchanan, 21 August 1550, before Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja, Doctor Manuel (Antunes) and Doctor Ambrosius Campello.

On this occasion the Inquisitors really got down to business. They opened with a systematic interrogation based (as we can easily see) on Pinheiro's evidence of his conversation with Buchanan. The prisoner was obviously at first unable to conjecture the basis of his judges' questions; guessing in the dark, he made admissions as to his conduct in eating meat in Lent in Scotland and criticizing monasticism in Portugal. Eventually, however, the questions enlightened him, and he refers to his conversation with Pinheiro. The next few questions deal with Pinheiro's charge that Buchanan held unorthodox Eucharistic views. Buchanan made important admissions (See below pp.103 ff.).

Then a series of questions elucidated Buchanan's version of his troubles in Scotland. This part of the examination is based on the evidence of Simson and Ferrerius. (See Appendix 2).

After a few more general questions, Buchanan, having

evidently determined it was best to make a clean breast of all suspicious acts, asked for paper and ink to draw up a narrative in due order. His judges readily acceded to his desire, adjuring him in the usual manner to confess fully.

Prisoners were never refused facilities to draw up a defence or confession. Writing materials were always supplied, though (in Spain at least) great care was taken to prevent any improper use of the paper provided - e.g. for communication with outside. This was done by noting carefully the number of sheets issued - in some cases numbering them officially - and insisting on the return of all the sheets. Lea (ii. 517) gives an amusing illustration of how strictly this was enforced in Spain.

Thus Buchanan from 21 to 23 August must be imagined writing in his fine calligraphy that admirable and clever document I term the First Defence. Probably wisely, he adopted the policy of full confession - at least he confessed much that was never alleged against him, though whether he told the whole truth in every point is disputable. But it is not necessary here to discuss the contents of the defence.

Third Examination of Buchanan, 23 August 1550, before Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja and Ambrosius Campello.

This examination was very brief, and the only business transacted was that Buchanan read out the First Defence and was sworn to its truth on the Gospels. The First Defence follows in the Records. The judges now spent a week considering this document.

Fourth Examination of Buchanan, 1 September 1550, before d'Azambuja and Ambrosius Campello.

Now that the Inquisitors had such a full confession in their hands they were less dependent on the evidence before them; but they were still anxious to discover if the prisoner was keeping anything back and in particular if he would denounce any persons doubtful in the Faith whom he knew. This interview is thus a long and careful cross-examination of the prisoner based on his Defence, point after point being discussed in due order. This examination and the Second are the longest and most important of these colloquies. I should mention that on this occasion Buchanan read over and handed in his Second Defence, a short appendix to his First, the text of which follows the Fourth Examination.

Fifth Examination of Buchanan, 6 September 1550, before d'Azambuja and Ribeiro.

Buchanan, asked what is now the customary question - whether he remembers anything more? - recalls some details of his conversation with Pinheiro. This indicates that he had guessed Pinheiro was one of his denouncers, and had been thinking over his relations with the Dominican. This passage is quoted in the commentary (see p.88).

Sixth Examination of Buchanan, 17 September 1550, before the above judges.

On this occasion Buchanan could remember nothing fresh and again refused to denounce anyone. I do not quote this colloquy as no new facts emerged. Buchanan was now left to his own thoughts

for about a month.

Seventh Examination of Buchanan, 15 October 1550, before the same judges.

On this occasion something more was discovered. Buchanan indeed said he could remember nothing more; but when asked what he had eaten when coming from France did recollect a lapse he had previously omitted to mention. This important passage is quoted in the commentary (See p.111).

It is fairly evident that new information had reached the inquisitors - perhaps through the revelations of Costa or Teive who may not have been so scrupulous about denouncing others as was Buchanan.

Eighth Examination of Buchanan, 12¹ December 1550, before Doctor Ambrosius Campello.

It will be noted that Buchanan had since his last examination been neglected for nigh two months. On this occasion inquiries were directed to the alleged Papal Bull of Pardon dated 1543 or 1544 to which Buchanan had referred. This matter is discussed with full quotation in Appendix 4.

Ninth Examination of Buchanan, 7 January 1551, before the Inquisitor Friar Jorge de Santiago. This is his first overt intervention in the case.

This examination is connected with the last, and deals with

¹This is the correct date, as is proved by the Portuguese text of Henriques, though his English text gives '8 December'.

the same subject. (See again Appendix 4) It closes, however, with a more than usually emphatic adjuration to the prisoner to declare the whole truth 'because it was not easily to be believed that he had not held converse with many suspicious persons.'

There follows in the Records a letter from a certain Dr. Villarrinho, and certain evidence taken at Lisbon in April 1551 relating to the alleged Pardon, all of these passages being quoted in the Appendix already referred to. While these inquiries were being prosecuted Buchanan was unvisited by his judges for several months. It is possible he spent his enforced leisure in his famous translation of the Psalms.¹

Tenth Examination of Buchanan, 15 May 1551, before the Bishop of Angra, Friar Jorge de Santiago and Dr. Ambrosius Campello.

This was a more formal assembly of judges, and was expressly meant to expedite the conclusion of the case. The questions asked were of a technical theological nature, and are quoted partly in the commentary (see pp. 103, 110) and partly in Appendix 5.

The 'Eleventh Examination', if we may call it so, consisted merely of a personal interview between the prisoner and the notary Rodrigues to clear up finally the matter of the alleged Pardon. The record of this interview is followed by the text of a Pardon in

¹See the *Vita* where, it is true, Buchanan seems rather to assign his translation of the Psalms to his later reclusion in a monastery. But he may have started the work now. The Inquisitors did not refuse the means of literary labour to prisoners (cf. Lea ii.518)

French. The bearing of these facts is discussed elsewhere (see Appendix 4). This interview immediately followed the Tenth Examination.

Thus ended the 'third chapter' of the process. Leaving the interpretation of what happened till later, we now proceed to the final phases of the trial.

4 Sentence, Abjuration, Penance, Release.

The first two documents must, because of their importance, be quoted in full. The Sentence is undated, but seems to have been pronounced in July 1551.

Sentence.

The Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, and the Ordinary, after examining these Records and seeing that both they and the Confession of the Defendant, Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, show that he, being a Christian, separated himself from our Holy Catholic Faith, and from Holy Mother Church, vacillating and doubting in things of the Faith, during three years, inclining often to the Lutheran opinions, holding that the Body of Our Lord was not present in the Sacrament of the Altar, it being there figuratively only and not in reality; and at other times doubting and vacillating thereon; doubting, moreover, if the Mass was a sacrifice; and also doubting and vacillating upon the article of Purgatory, holding mentally that by confidence only we were justified; holding and believing, also, that it was not a sin to fail to confess at the times ordered by Holy Mother Church, if scandal was not caused thereby; and that the precept of Confession was human and not Divine; and also that it was not a sin to disobey human laws, if neither scandal or injury to our neighbour arose therefrom; his opinion being that it is not necessary to obey the precept of the Church which prohibits the eating of meat upon certain days; also that it was better to go direct to God, than to the Saints; all of which errors are heretical, Lutheran, damned and reprov'd by Holy Mother Church; all of which having been taken into consideration, together with everything else which is contained in the Records, and in view of the fact that he, Defendant, moved by true and sound counsel, came at length to recognize his errors and, with many signs of repentance, begged

pardon for them of Our Lord, and for mercy of Holy Mother Church, with other matters set forth in the said Records;

Are agreed to receive the Defendant, Master George, to reconciliation, union and the mercy of Holy Mother Church, as he has begged to be, and they give him as penance that he make public and formal abjuration of his errors, before the Inquisitors and their Officers in Court, and that he reside in a Monastery, which they assign to him as a prison, for such time as appears good to the said Inquisitors, where he will employ himself in some virtuous exercises, and in things necessary for his salvation. And they order him to be absolved, in forma ecclesiae, from the excommunication which he has incurred.¹

THE BISHOP OF ANGRA

AMBROSIUS DOCTOR

FRIAR GEORGIUS SANCTI JACOBI FRIAR HIERONYMO D'AZAMBUJA

IMANUEL DOCTOR

FRIAR JORGE GONSALVES RYBEIRO

MARTIM LOPEZ LOBO¹

Of these judges Jeronymo d'Azambuja² deserves special mention. He was a man of literary note who had entered the Dominican Order in 1520, and soon made his mark as a theologian, taking his doctor's degree and teaching the humanities and theology at the College of St. Thomas in Coimbra from 1525. In 1545 he was sent to the Council of Trent, and upon his return he declined a bishopric. In 1552 he was appointed Inquisitor of the Holy Office at Evora, whence he was transferred to Lisbon in 1555.³ He died in 1563 at the Lisbon Convent of St. Dominic.

¹The above translation is mainly as in Henriques, but I have consulted the version by Rev. R. M. Lithgow (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, pp. 72-3) and taken a few phrases from it. In the spelling of signatures I have followed the originals.

²Azambuja signifies the wild olive tree, hence his Latinized name of Jerome Oleaster. Actually, however, the friar took his surname from his reputed birthplace.

³He acted as Inquisitor at Lisbon long before, as in the present case. Lea notes that a peculiarity of the Portuguese Inquisition was the officers known as deputados who acted as inquisitors and judges without the title (iii. 262).

Herculano's opinion of him as an inquisitor must be quoted.

The passage refers to a report of the papal Nuncio in 1561 on the working of the Portuguese Inquisition:-

'Reply was made that in reality New-Christians were not only arrested but also tortured without sufficient proofs. There was one man of high literary reputation who had distinguished himself for this kind of violence - the celebrated Oleaster, or Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja ... His excesses had been such that the infante was obliged to remove him. Dom Henrique himself confessed to the nuncio that Oleaster had passed all bounds of moderation.'

(Eng. trans. p. 630)

Buchanan's abjuration soon followed his sentence, and is the next entry in the Records. The text appears below.

Abjuration.

'I, Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, of the diocese of Glasgow, before you, Senhores Inquisitors, swear upon the Holy Gospels, upon which my hands are placed, that, of my own free will, I renounce and put away from myself all and any heresies, especially these which I have confessed, vacillating and doubting
.....than to the Saints.¹

'And I confess, with a pure and true heart, the Holy Catholic Faith, as held and believed by Holy Mother Church of Rome. And I swear to be obedient to our very Holy Father, Pope Julius III, our Lord, who now rules and governs the Church of God, and to his successors after him, and to never swerve from that obedience for any admonition or heresy whatever, and to remain always in the Bond of Holy Mother Church, and be a defender of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to denounce and publish all those who are opposed to it; and God grant that I may not fall into the penalty of relapse; and I promise that I will not refuse the penance which may be given to me, and I will fulfil it within the limits of possibility; and I beg the Notary of the Holy Inquisition, who is present at this my abjuration, to bear witness to it and to sign it in a way which will make it valid. And I beg those who are present to bear witness to it and sign it here with me.

¹The omitted words in which Buchanan characterizes his errors in detail are substantially the same as in the corresponding passage of the Sentence, and it seems superfluous to quote them again.

Witnesses who were present:- Paulo da Costa, Notary, and Pero Fernandes and Antonio Fernandes, Solicitors in the Court for Ordinary Business, there being present the Reverend Senhor Bishop of Angra, and Senhor the Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, and the Deputies of the Holy Inquisition. On the 29th of July, of the year 1551. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

GEORGIUS BUCHANAN ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ PAULO DA COSTA'

The convent chosen for Buchanan's penitential detention was that of Saint Bento (St. Benedict), belonging to the Secular Canons of St. John the Evangelist. In the Records the abjuration is followed by a letter (dated Friday) from Pero de Sam Joham, Prior of this monastery, who expressed his willingness to lodge the penitent for the time being, while apologizing for the humbleness of the accommodation he could give. The letter is addressed to Friar Jorge de Santiago.

Buchanan was detained in this house for over four months when, as is well known, his main occupation was translating the Psalms. He seems to have had no reason to complain of his treatment by his monastic hosts (see the reference in the Vita).

We next find in the Records the minute of an interview at Saint Bento on 17 December 1551 between Friar Jorge de Santiago and the penitent where the latter received permission to leave the monastery and go into the city¹ but not to depart from Lisbon without further orders. The letter from the Cardinal Inquisitor (written at Evora, on 13 December, by one Joham de Sande) authorizing this concession of modified freedom (for Buchanan and Costa) is then appended.. Its last paragraph runs:-

¹The Convent was in a suburb then known as Xabregas. The building is now a flour mill (see illustrations in the St. Andrews Memorial Volume).

'Should you¹ and the other Deputies think fit to release them, and allow them to leave the City, you may order the permits to be drawn up, in such form as you think best, and send them to me to be signed.'

This promise of final release was soon fulfilled. Under the heading Transcript of another paragraph of a letter of His Highness we find an excerpt from a letter from the Cardinal Prince to the Deputies de Santiago, Campello and Ribeiro, approving of their decision at a meeting to release Buchanan and Costa and authorizing this action. This warrant was done at Almeirim² on 28 January 1552,³ and is guaranteed as 'transcribed and collated with the original' by the notary Rodrigues.

The last entry in the Records runs as follows:-

'On the last day of the month of February, in the year 1552,³ in Lisbon, in the Court for the Transaction of Ordinary Business of the Holy Inquisition, there being present the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, they ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them, and told him that the Senhor Cardinal Prince, Inquisitor-General, had been pleased to release him entirely, so that he might depart; and they charged him to endeavour from henceforth always to converse with virtuous persons of good reputation, and to confess frequently, and draw near to Our Lord and be a good Christian; and he said that he would do so. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.'

Thus we leave the Records of this remarkable episode in Buchanan's life with the industrious notary having the last word.

II INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS.

What precedes professes to be nothing more than a factual summary with a minimum of comment; and I hope that what follows may be found to answer some of the problems that must be present to

¹i.e. Friar Jorge de Santiago.

²Obviously the residence of the Court at the present time.

³Henriques in his translation makes the year 1551, but his Portuguese text gives 1552 which is obviously correct.

the mind of the reader. The primary problem is (as in a detective story) to unmask the man behind the scenes, the villain of the piece who was ultimately responsible for setting the machinery of the Inquisition in motion in Buchanan's case.

1 Who was the Informer? and Why?

Before these Records were discovered - when nothing was known of Buchanan's trial save what he tells himself - this was a favourite field of speculation, and all of the humanist's real or supposed enemies were blamed for denouncing him to the Inquisition, as e.g. Cardinal Betoun, the Franciscans or the Jesuits. It is clear from the Records that the first two¹ had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings; the only reference to Cardinal Betoun is quite fortuitous, due to the chance that the witness Ferrerius was the tutor of the late Cardinal's nephews; and the Franciscans do not appear in the case, all the friars mentioned being Dominicans.² It is true that Buchanan supposed that his satires on the Franciscans had to do with his arrest; but that this was not the case is proved by the Records. No one but Buchanan himself mentioned these satires or apparently gave them a second thought.

Previously offered solutions being apparently inadequate, let us see what the prisoners themselves thought of the matter. Buchanan does not help us; whether from sheer ignorance or prudence, he blames no one for his troubles either at the time or

¹The question of the possible responsibility of the Jesuits is discussed later; they were at any rate not directly responsible.

²We must remember there was no love lost between the mendicant Orders. Why should Dominicans avenge the injuries of the Franciscans?

later.¹ Teive, however, and Costa attribute the proceedings to the man who was the second witness examined - Diogo de Gouveia the Elder.² Costa, in particular, seems to have spared no pains to solve our present problem - a vital one for him. According to Henriques, 'he drew up and sent to his Judges a long Statement in which he passes in review every one who he thought bore enmity to him, and finally seems to have arrived at a correct conclusion, attributing his incarceration to the Dominican, Friar Joam Pinheiro,³ and to Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, the Elder Pinheiro, in Costa's opinion, was but an instrument; the real enemy was Diogo de Gouveia . . . who, says Costa, was quite cunning enough to pull the strings without letting himself be seen.' (Henriques pp.x-xi)

Assuming that Diogo de Gouveia was the real informer the next question is the nature of his motive. Costa, Teive and Senhor Henriques all declare that the motive was hatred - hatred of his nephew André, the famous Principal of the Collège de Guyenne and later Principal at Coimbra. The fact of this breach between Uncle and nephew is affirmed by Costa and Teive, and is suggested also by a phrase in Gouveia's evidence where he blames André for having while he (Diogo) was in Portugal placed Cop⁴ in his college of Ste.-Barbe as a Regent.

It is clear that the success of Ste.-Barbe was largely due to

¹He refers in the Vita to the evidence of Ferrerius and Talpin, but does not suggest they were the promoters of the proceedings against him - and it is clear from the Records that they were not.

²The epithet is to distinguish this scholar from relatives of the same name. For an account of his family and career see Appendix 7.

³The first witness.

⁴Nicolas Cop, the preacher of the famous Calvinistic sermon of 1533.

Gouveia's ability, and we must recognize in him a genuine zeal for scholarship and education, and an enlightened patriotism. So Quicherat can style him 'un maître vigilant et capable, plein de gravité, d'une probité à toute épreuve, et qui savait surtout entretenir dans la jeunesse le feu d'émulation', while Diogo de Teive, though by now guessing his enmity towards himself, can yet refer to him as 'Our Master Gouveia, the aged Doctor, a man most honourable and most virtuous, to whom we are all deeply indebted, for it is chiefly owing to him that we have the Belles Lettres in this Kingdom'. (Henriques, p. xi)

Yet there was another and a less favourable side to the character of this veteran scholar and educationist. He was apparently hot-headed and - what is worse - vindictive. His enemies dubbed him - and his nephew André - sinapivorus (mustard eater);¹ and Diogo de Teive immediately after the passage cited just above continues:-

'He is, however, very vehement in his passion, and pertinacious about anything which he once takes into his head.'

Building on such indications, Henriques states his conclusions in this manner:-

'Admitting that Gouveia was the real informer, and that Pinheiro was the instrument of his revenge, it is plain that the primary object of the former was the ruin of his nephew André. While the boy was stretched, but before the arrow started on its flight, André died,² and Costa was appointed Principal of the

¹This epithet is employed by Beza.

²André de Gouveia died at Coimbra 9 June 1548. The suspicion that his opinions were not orthodox was strengthened by his dying without receiving the final offices of the Church, though an inquest seemed to prove that this was merely due to the very sudden and unexpected termination of his brief illness.

Royal College. He, then, became the object of the old man's wrath. Teive and Buchanan were included in the mean denunciation, because the former had incurred Pinheiro's enmity¹ and the latter's past life had been largely and unfavourably discussed; in addition to which, he lodged with Costa and Teive at Coimbra, and was their friend.'

But, while accepting the conclusion that Diogo the Elder was the real informer against Buchanan, I would argue that he may well have been actuated by a motive somewhat more deserving of respect than personal spite against his nephew. If there was one overpowering idea in the veteran scholar's mind, it must have been the welfare of the College of Ste.-Barbe at Paris as a centre for Portuguese students. During all his years at Paris he had been closely connected with Ste.-Barbe, himself or a nephew being the Principal; while he had induced the king of Portugal to endow the college with fifty bursaries for Portuguese students. It is easy then to imagine the chagrin of the aged Principal when towards the end of his second term of office (1540-8) the clouds began to gather round his cherished foundation.

It is very clear from M. Quicherat's Histoire de Ste.-Barbe that towards 1548 the college was in decline, as the Portuguese students were coming in smaller numbers. Such a decline, of course, was the natural result of the foundation of the Royal College at Coimbra. Why should the young Portuguese student go to Paris when he could get as good instruction at his own door-step? Moreover, the support D. João gave to Coimbra doubtless made him less interested in Ste.-Barbe, and it is apparent that the fifty

¹For the cause of this see Appendix 7.

foundation bursaries there were abolished, or at least reduced. Can we then be surprised if Diogo de Gouveia harboured feelings of resentment for all connected with the College of Arts at Coimbra, especially as by a stroke of irony so many of the staff there were old Barbistes? Any reflection that after all Coimbra would serve the cause of higher education in Portugal better than any Parisian college could was insufficient to compensate for what must have appeared to the old man the approaching ruin of his life-work. He might well have cried 'Ichabod' when at Christmas 1548 he was after a legal struggle expelled from Ste.-Barbe by the proprietor Robert Dugast. If I am right in this psychological reconstruction, I think even an admirer of Buchanan may still sympathize to some extent with the position of his secret and malevolent enemy.

It is not impossible that the Jesuits may for their own ends have had a finger in the pie. We know indeed that at Coimbra they were already rivals of the College of Arts.¹ Moreover, they were the eventual gainers by the ruin of André de Gouveia's enterprise; for on 10 September 1555 D. João wrote to Diogo de Teive² ordering him to hand over the college to Diogo Mirão, Provincial of the Jesuits.

Yet it is clear enough as has been said before that the Jesuits were not the direct authors of the proceedings. Their

¹See below pp. 14ff and notes ad loc. The Jesuits were apt to come in conflict with humanistic foundations. For similar troubles at Bordeaux see the later chapters of E. Gaullieur's *Histoire*.

²Then Principal of the College. He had apparently after his release on 22 September 1551 returned to Coimbra, and succeeded Mendes who was left as Principal when Costa was arrested.

rivalry with the College of Arts is confirmed by Costa and Teive, but the evidence of the Provincial Simon Rodrigues and Father Luiz da Grã was inoffensive. It had nothing to do with Buchanan, and referred to a dispute of Father Luiz and Costa in Lent 1550 over the entrance of two pupils into the Jesuit College.

It is, however, possible that the Jesuits, already hoping by virtue of their influence with the King (a person of fanatical disposition, as is suggested by his introduction of the Holy Office²) to obtain control of the Royal College, may have used Diogo de Gouveia - with or without his knowledge - as a tool in their schemes, while keeping themselves in the background. In this connection it is worth noting that Diogo de Gouveia when Principal of Ste.-Barbe had become acquainted in a remarkable way with no less a person than Ignatius Loyola himself, who in 1529 (at the advanced age of 38) was a student at the College. The sensational story of Loyola's narrow escape from ignominious punishment need not be repeated here;³ what is important for us is its result. Diogo de Gouveia, impressed by the future General, became favourable to the organization he was soon to form. As M. Quicherat puts it, 'L'avantage le plus direct que les compagnons d'Ignace de Loyola aient retiré de leur séjour à Ste.-Barbe fut l'amitié de Jacques de Gouvea', and he goes on to relate how Gouveia recommended his monarch to utilize in the Portuguese colonies the missionary zeal of the Jesuits.

¹One of Loyola's original companions. He was examined by the Lisbon Inquisition on 1 October 1550 (Henriques p. x).

²An unfavourable impression of D. João's character is conveyed by Herculano; yet the King's interest in learning seems undeniable.

³The reader may consult Quicherat ch. xx or Hume Brown pp.62ff. See also the commentary p. 85

Here I consider we must leave the question as to who was ultimately responsible for the action taken by the Inquisition. It seems proved that Diogo de Gouveia, using Pinheiro as a tool, was the informer; and an attempt has been made to see his point of view and explain the motives of his action. As for the Jesuits, Hume Brown was certainly wrong, in crediting them with any direct responsibility; but their use of indirect influence is possible, though conjectural, and is suggested by their relations with Diogo de Gouveia.¹ The Franciscans and Cardinal Betoun are like 'the flowers that bloom in the spring'.

In the next section we shall have to contemplate the situation through the eyes of the judges and not, as heretofore, through the jaundiced vision of the informer.

2. Did Buchanan Receive a Fair Trial?

This question must, of course, be interpreted in a relative and historical sense. There are certain features in the procedure of the Inquisition - the constant obstacles set in the path of the defence by the secrecy of the proceedings, the withholding of the names of opposing witnesses, the consequent impossibility of cross-examining these witnesses and in general the barely disguised opposition of the judges - which are completely irreconcilable with modern conceptions of a fair trial² - or should I say

¹It is perhaps worth while to remark that the Portuguese Jesuits (especially Rodrigues) were responsible for the persecution by the Inquisition of a famous native scholar, Damião de Goes. For a brief notice of this case see Lea (iii. 264ff.).

²Anyone who is prepared to put forward the hackneyed defence for past barbarities - 'the custom of the age' - should remember that the particular abuses of the Inquisition were not found - to the same extent, at least - in the secular and episcopal courts of the period.

British conceptions? But the important and interesting question is whether the Inquisition rules were honestly observed in Buchanan's case. Did he, according to the accepted standards of the Holy Office, receive a fair trial and just sentence?

I may say at once that I agree with Senhor Henriques that the answer must be in the affirmative. The procedure in general seems to have been normal, and the judges were, if anything, rather lenient. No particular difficulties or complications arose. Henriques notes that Buchanan's Records are the least voluminous of the three, and he did not require to appoint a solicitor as Costa did; also no occasion arose for an appeal to the Supreme Council. There is also a hint that Buchanan was receiving special instruction and guidance from Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja (see the commentary p. 94).

One feature of the procedure which seems strange to us is the excessive slowness. Though Buchanan's was a fairly straightforward case, the proceedings from arrest to sentence occupied nearly a year. Still we must remember that it was necessary to write to Paris and get an answer¹; and after all by Inquisition standards where trials often lasted for years (outdoing the proverbial law's delays) the process was not unduly protracted, though the prisoner no doubt found it tedious enough (cf. the Vita). It is also probable that the conclusion of Buchanan's trial may have been delayed by the cases of Costa and Teive.

¹In connection with the alleged Papal Pardon of 1543 or 1544 (See Appendix 4).

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¹In connection with the alleged Papal Pardon of 1543 or 1544 (See Appendix 4).

Arrest and sequestration followed in general the normal procedure, such variations as exist rather evincing a readiness to give the prisoner every consideration. His arrest was carried through by an important official in a delicate manner enough; and he was allowed to select a foreigner to take charge of the possessions he left at Coimbra. His money was handed over to him uncounted and intact.

As regards the trial proper, no particular unfairness can be charged. The repeated pressure to incriminate accomplices was normal, and the keen examination was to be expected. Hume Brown¹ charged the inquisitors with acting unfairly in the matter of the alleged pardon; but I cannot agree. This point is discussed fully in Appendix 4.

The sentence also was moderate - probably, indeed, as light as was possible in view of Buchanan's own admissions. Technically it can be described as abjuration de vehementi² combined with reconciliation to the Church.³ The imprisonment imposed as a penance was of short duration and of the mildest form. Reclusion in a monastery was indeed the penalty usually assigned to clerics, who (partly to avoid public scandal) generally received more lenient treatment than laymen accused of similar crimes. Finally, as Buchanan's sentence was not different from that passed on his colleagues, we cannot accept his contention that he was more harshly treated as a foreigner (see the Vita).

¹In an article in the Scottish Review, April 1893.

²This differed from abjuration de levi in that relapse could be punished by the stake.

³Considered strangely as a punishment; which it was in fact, as it involved confiscation of property and was often accompanied by imprisonment.

I may add in concluding this topic that Buchanan himself does not directly accuse his judges of injustice; on the whole, indeed, his criticisms are remarkably moderate, when we remember his later feelings towards Roman Catholicism in general. But the whole question of Buchanan's attitude to the proceedings must be considered in a new section.

3. Was Buchanan's Conduct Commendable?

It is obviously necessary to determine first what Buchanan's religious convictions were. I am inclined to think that the extent to which he sympathized with the Reformers in 1550 has sometimes been exaggerated. He had certainly attacked the corruptions of the Church in his satires against the Franciscans - as did Sir Thomas More, Sir David Lyndsay and other good Catholics - but these works and other incidental satires are no real evidence of Lutheranism. Up till 1550 and even later he was first and foremost the humanist, and by his own account in the Vita it was not till 1558 or 1559 that he made a systematic study of theological controversies.

Of course he had always taken the intelligent layman's interest in such matters since 1525 at least (see the Vita). In the sixteenth century theology was in the air as economics is to-day; no one could help hearing of the disputes raging on the Continent,¹

¹Latomus in his polemic treatise against Bucer - a work Buchanan admired - refers to the great volume of controversy aroused by Luther especially in Germany, and how everywhere theological topics were being discussed by laymen.

and it is obvious from Buchanan's own statements that his interest in such matters was increased by his sojourn in England in 1539. Yet we know that he still favoured Sir Thomas More, not Henry VIII, far less Luther.²

Now the First Defence is so largely concerned with theology that it becomes an important document for the determination of Buchanan's theological views, and, though we must no doubt make allowance for the prisoner's wish to minimize his heresies, still the whole tenor of the document is in favour of the view of Buchanan's position stated above - i.e. if we must label him, he was a Catholic Reformer rather than a Protestant. It is true he admits certain doubts and vacillations; but he also alleges a definite 'return to the Church' in 1541. I think we should accept this statement as substantially true.³

The importance of this result need hardly be stressed. If Buchanan in 1550 had definite Lutheran convictions or even such pronounced Lutheran sympathies as to lead him to feel that the Catholic Faith involved fundamental errors, he can hardly be acquitted of acting à la Galileo - though even then we should beware of too hasty condemnation. But if Buchanan, though having had his doubts of certain dogmas and desiring the emendation of abuses in the Church, was yet in all essentials a convinced

²The justification for this statement lies in the new interpretation of the Baptistes, on which see Appendix 3.

³After all the inquisitors accepted Buchanan's 'confessions' as satisfactory; so for a modern inquirer to reject them would be to show a more than inquisitorial suspicion! Lea notes that in Spain till 1550 the trials for 'Lutheranism' are mainly of unconscious heretics, Erasmists and the like. Buchanan is of this class rather than of the later type of convinced Protestants.

Catholic, the situation is quite different; we have no justification for expecting him to play the martyr's part, and should not feel aggrieved at his recantation of what he doubtless honestly believed were errors.

If then we remember that Buchanan had neither inclination nor motive for martyrdom, we must admit that his conduct was admirable. He fought the accusation in a determined and straightforward manner, never losing his head, never (in spite of pressure) incriminating any other person or making any unmanly recantation of his convictions. Senhor Henriques, who had opportunities of comparison with other similar documents, commends alike his courage and prudence. 'He did not bluster at the commencement . . . to be abjectly praying for mercy afterwards, as . . . Costa and Teive did.' He certainly asked for mercy, but his plea is restrained and dignified, not abject.

We should remember that such conduct was not common among the victims of the Inquisition. Lea notes the rarity of heroism amongst the prisoners, and the universality of self-abasement and denunciation of others. We cannot condemn these hapless wretches offhand without remembering the tremendous pressure of moral constraint and sometimes of physical pain they had to endure; but we must recognize the facts; Herculano, the historian of the Portuguese Inquisition, finds the same features there. Few can have been the prisoners who would have been capable of composing in a few days in such anxious circumstances a document so admirable in content and style as Buchanan's First Defence, written in his beautifully legible hand. To illustrate this we

may refer to another record preserved in the Lisbon archives where 'the writer expresses his absolute inability . . . to collect his thoughts at all, or to remember in any way what he had said or done with a view to his defence. In a shaking scribble he begs . . . for mercy . . . vainly . . ., for a note written on the other side of the paper by the Cardinal Inquisitor himself states that the note was only handed him by the executioner when its writer was already at the stake'. (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, p. 382) It is interesting to compare the judgment I have expressed above on Buchanan's conduct with the opinions of certain contemporary writers.

4. What was the Judgment of Contemporaries on Buchanan's Conduct?

Buchanan was naturally judged very differently by writers of the opposing schools of religious belief. It will be of interest to quote the judgments of two such writers in relation to this episode in the humanist's career.

Archibald Hamilton (known as the Apostate from his desertion of the Reformed religion) wrote works in which he attacked the Scots Reformers with all the bitterness of the renegade. In De Confusione Calvinianae Sectae (Paris 1577) he refers scornfully to Buchanan as 'a second Moses' and mentions his 'Calvinistic' theories of government as expressed in the De Regno.¹ With the obvious intention of discrediting Buchanan in Protestant circles, he reveals what the latter does not mention in his Vita as follows:-

After having once abjured Calvinism in Spain,² he again

¹So Hamilton refers to Buchanan's De Jure Regni apud Scotos.

²Hamilton uses Spain here and elsewhere as a geographical expression. Calvinism is not referred to in the Inquisition Records; Buchanan's heresies are described as 'Lutheran'.

adopted it in Scotland. (fo. 61).

Hamilton's attack was considered to merit a reply, and this was forthcoming in 1579 from the pen of Thomas Smeaton (1536-83), later Principal of Glasgow University. His work is entitled Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltoni . . . Dialogum . . . orthodoxa responsio, and was published at Edinburgh. The passage relating to Buchanan is as follows:-

'Still there lives - and long may he live! - that glory of the world, not of Scotland only, GEORGE BUCHANAN, whom it were folly to attempt to defend against the barking of a mad dog . . . But your statement that he abjured his heresy is a most shameless falsehood, Hamilton. On two accounts indeed he was suspected in Portugal as a professor of true religion. The first charge was that he had too openly disclosed the mysteries of the Seraphic Order¹ in the Franciscanus: the second that in private conversation he had said to certain pupils that in his opinion Augustine did not wholly favour the fiction of transubstantiation. Cast into prison, he made his defence for his life. He said that he had written the Franciscanus at the king's command, and that there was nothing in it which attacked any doctrine of the Christian faith. When asked to repeat some verses from memory (for nobody there had the book) he excused his forgetfulness.²

On transubstantiation he replied that he repeated nothing else than the words of Augustine, from cap. 16 lib. 3 De Doctrina Christiana which run as follows:-

'If the speech of Scripture be a precept forbidding that which is heinous and flagitious, or commanding that which is profitable and good, it is not a figurative speech. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you"³ seem to command a thing heinous and flagitious. Therefore it is a figure, commanding us to be partakers of our Lord's passion, and to lay up in our memory, profitably and sweetly, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.⁴

¹For the turn of phrase cf. Franciscanus v. 297.

²The Inquisition Records do not enable us to confirm this incident. For Buchanan's remarks on the Franciscanus see pp. 311 and notes ad loc.

³John vi. 53.

⁴Cf. pp. 21 ff. and notes ad loc. The translation of the passage of St. Augustine above is that of Calderwood, who gives an account of Buchanan's experiences in Portugal directly based on the passage now being quoted from Smeaton. The account is in fact almost a literal translation. The reference is Calderwood i. 129-30.

'If these words' he said 'savour of heresy, first condemn Augustine; and suppose this done, yet it will not be fitting that I should pay the penalty for another's error.'

So, as he could not be convicted by any argument or any witness, he was acquitted by the votes of his judges and returned to France, the loss to literature being so great, that the King of Portugal afterwards summoned him back with most loving letters. But it was in vain; for, once set free by the great kindness of GOD out of the most cruel hands of the Inquisitors, he refused to enter a second time into that peril, since in France especially, first of all countries beneath the sun for culture, the highest studies and number of learned men, lucrative and very honourable posts were being offered to him. But BUCHANAN is sufficiently defended by his remarkable sincerity and all-round virtue.'

It is evident without argument that there are touches in this account which could only have come from Buchanan directly. Therefore we must admit that Buchanan had gradually built up a legend of his experiences in Portugal in which the denouement was his triumphant acquittal and not his abjuration. The temptation to improve the story must certainly have been great.

But if Buchanan put forward his version - false in certain crucial points - his enemies were not content with the bare truth, but tried to discredit Buchanan by adorning the story with fabrications unfavourable to the reformer. Let us see how Hamilton returned to the attack in his second and larger work Calvinianae confusionis Demonstratio (Paris, 1581). The passage to be quoted occurs on pp. 252-3,¹ and the opening words refer to Smeaton's defence of Buchanan in the passage above:-

'Both allegations are maliciously concocted, both are utterly false - the former against the uprightness of the king of Scots, the latter against the severity of the Spaniards in punishing heretics - a severity never sufficiently praised. For neither

¹This passage as well as that of Smeaton appears to have been overlooked by Hume Brown when in his biography he quoted the Vita as the sole authority for Buchanan's experiences in Portugal. Both passages had, however, been already noticed and quoted in Dr. McCrie's Life of Knox Appendix QQ.

would James the fifth, a prince second to none in upholding and maintaining the Catholic faith, have sponsored the authorship of a pasquill so foul and saucy:¹ nor would the most weighty judgment of the theologians have allowed such blasphemous wit of an atheist poet² to go scot-free. And as the falseness of the former lie was proved by the public witness of the noble lords Erskine and Livingstone,³ when, being in France on an embassy, they informed the Spanish ambassador⁴ that Buchanan had been convicted of heresy by authority of the King, so by the opinions of the two hundred who heard not his argument but his humble and tearful excuses the emptiness of that second lie can be proved. But if these opinions seem not conclusive enough because the men are far distant, and if the story of our countrymen seem less worthy of credence because they were not present at the scene, yet the public records of the city in which historical events are noted should not lack authority. These will to this day bear open witness that he was then aided not by the witness of Augustine in his *De Doctrina Christiana* iii. 17, but by a verse of the psalmist, in the 24th Psalm,⁵ while, prostrate at the Cardinal's feet, he uttered in a voice broken by sobs the words 'Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions, O Lord'.

That formula of abjuration, employed by him then, I have mentioned in passing for this very end that at last Scotland may understand how authoritative and steadfast is its patriarchal leader in religion whom now the country follows, regarding as the surest oracles of the Holy Spirit every paradox of a wanton poet and abjured heretic.'

To comment on this passage - Hamilton was doubtless entitled to emphasize that Buchanan had abjured his heresies⁶ and had not been acquitted, as Smeaton had claimed; but from the evidence of the Records he **has** surrounded the event with imaginary details. I doubt if he had access to any good source of information. The Records do not confirm the alleged publicity of the abjuration; it appears to have taken place in a private auto in the audience-

¹Not a convincing picture of the king who listened to Lyndsay's plays!

²Cf. Sir James Melville's cynical remark 'Buchanan was of good religion for a poet'.

³These nobles escorted Queen Mary to France in 1548.

⁴Possibly Gonçalves Pinheiro, Portuguese Ambassador to France (See Appendix 7).

⁵The true reference is Ps. xxv.7. The inaccuracy is paralleled by the erroneous reference to Augustine (cf. Smeaton).

⁶Yet he might have remembered the proverb about glass houses!

chamber with few people present. Moreover, it is certain that the Cardinal Prince was not there, as his presence would never have passed unmentioned in the Records; so the picture of Buchanan at the Cardinal's feet is pure fancy. So far as we know, Buchanan never saw the Cardinal at all.

Now that we have such full authentic material for the history of Buchanan's trial, these partial and imaginative accounts have lost almost all their historical value; yet they are worth quoting to show how Buchanan could be judged by an enthusiastic friend on the one hand and a bitter enemy on the other. If from the facts we must admit that Buchanan is not the successful hero of Smeaton, it is also true that he did not act in the ignominious manner that Hamilton depicts. The truth, as I trust I have made clear, lies between the two views. Buchanan was not a Protestant martyr because, in the first place, he was not yet a Protestant; but he must be acquitted on the charge of having acted in a manner unworthy of his name and reputation.¹

¹I consider it unnecessary to quote in full Buchanan's account of his Portuguese experiences in the Vita, as this source is well-known, easily accessible and largely used by all the biographers; but it may be useful to note a few points of special interest here.

Buchanan is now proved to be mistaken in his belief that his anti-Franciscan satires were a charge against him. There is less excuse for his errors in some other respects. He exaggerates his sufferings when he estimates the duration of his trial as 'a year and a half' and claims that it was only 'post longum carceris squalorem' that he was brought before his judges. Actually he was first examined only three days after his delivery to the Lisbon prison!

Buchanan's discovery of the fact that Talpin and Ferrerius had given evidence against him is interesting. Officials of the Inquisition and even witnesses were bound to strict secrecy; yet in this case someone (probably Talpin or Ferrerius themselves) had certainly talked, and the news had got round to Buchanan. The danger of such babbling is glanced at in the Spanish proverb con el rey y la inquisicion, chiton! but no doubt in France the vengeance of the Inquisition seemed a more remote peril.

Many further references to the Vita will be found throughout the commentary, and a passage from James Laing, a Catholic polemic of Hamilton's stamp, dealing briefly - and inaccurately - with Buchanan in Portugal is quoted towards the end of Appendix 2.

5. Epilogue - After the trial.

A few words might perhaps be said on the events that immediately followed Buchanan's final release and the motives that induced him to shake off the dust of Portugal from his feet for ever.

There can be no doubt that the motive suggested by Smeaton is correct. Buchanan's attitude was 'Once bit, twice shy'. It must be remembered a reconciled heretic always had to fear the sword of Damocles in the shape of a second denunciation. Legally relapse involved a sentence of relaxation; and though it was true that the Inquisition did not always observe in practice this canonical provision, still, if Buchanan had fallen into trouble again, he would certainly have received a more severe sentence. Further, while the sentence passed on Buchanan was lenient, yet his conviction involved a social stigma that was bound to hamper his career in Spain or Portugal; and, as there were now no ties to bind him to Portugal,¹ it is easy to understand why Buchanan asked D. João for permission to return to France.

The king was apparently reluctant to lose the famous scholar,² and Smeaton's assertion that even when Buchanan had reached France

¹His brother Patrick, Élie Vinet and other friends of his at Coimbra were already in France.

²Buchanan asserts in the *Vita* that before he came to Portugal D. João had promised him immunity for his anti-Franciscan satires. We have no confirmation of this statement, and cannot rely firmly on it, in view of the various inaccuracies in the account of which it forms part. Buchanan did not put forward this alleged royal promise in his defence - not that it would have helped him, as such a promise, if made, was no bar to the action of the Holy Office. But if the pledge was ever given it is another proof of the King's interest in Buchanan.

he was pressed to return is plausible. Buchanan also mentions the financial support the king extended to him. He would have required such support, as the proceedings of the Inquisition must have left him penniless.¹

Buchanan departed from his conventual prison on 17 December 1551 and, while we cannot fix exactly the date of his departure from Portugal, it is supposed that he arrived in England about the end of 1552.² He must therefore have been supported for several months by the King of Portugal.

His history after he left Portugal need not be retold here. Except in the case of his brother and Elie Vinet,³ he had as far as we know no further connection with any of the personages involved in the Portuguese adventure. His companions in misfortune went their own roads, remaining faithful to the Catholic Church and continuing their careers in their native Portugal. Both had abjured on the same day as Buchanan, and suffered like him reclusion in separate convents. Teive, as we have seen above, eventually returned to Coimbra; Costa died in 1578 as Prior of the Mother Church of the town of Aveiro dedicated to St. Michael.

In some respects, then, this chapter of Buchanan's life is an isolated episode in his career; yet it is worth study because

¹Buchanan was never rich; his sentence of reconciliation probably involved confiscation of his property - this is not stated, but was the normal practice - and in any case his prison expenses had doubtless exhausted his scanty savings.

²From the indications of the Vita Hume Brown comes to this conclusion.

³Till his last days Buchanan remained a constant correspondent of Vinet (see Appendix 3).

of its own interest, of the light it sheds on the humanist's mind from 1538 to 1550, and of the psychological effect that it must needs have had on the victim. Though it was not till some years later that Buchanan openly joined the Reformers,¹ the attentions of the Holy Office were in my opinion well calculated to defeat their intended object, and render the prisoner more doubtful of the virtues of the Catholic Faith. Is it too much of a paradox to maintain that in this case at least the Inquisition gave birth to the Reformer?

¹Hume Brown has truly remarked that Buchanan as late as 1558 refers to the Pope as 'Pater Romanus' in the manner of an orthodox Catholic. This reference occurs in Buchanan's poem on the capture of Calais (Misc. i)

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

Senhor Henriques of Carnota, sometime Legal Adviser to the British Embassy, Lisbon, a Portuguese gentleman interested in historical research, was responsible for the discovery in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo at Lisbon of the documents whose contents have been described above. These documents comprise two groups, discovered at separate times.

The documents of the first group (Processo no. 6469 consisting of the Records of Buchanan's case from his delivery to the Lisbon gaol to his final release) came to light by pure chance when Senhor Henriques was researching in the Inquisition archives - apparently about 1890.¹ Realizing the importance of the discovery, Henriques had the documents copied, and on the publication of Hume Brown's biography of George Buchanan sent the professor a manuscript to be described later. Hume Brown utilized the information thus obtained in an article in the Scottish Review for April 1893 entitled 'George Buchanan and the Inquisition' (pp. 296-315).

The second group of documents (Extracts from Processo no. 9510 - the trial of Costa) comprises the Records of the Inquest at Paris and the Minutes of the arrest of Buchanan and Teive at Coimbra. This further information was brought to light through a systematic search by Senhor Henriques who, guessing that there must have been

¹There seems some uncertainty about the exact date of this discovery. The St. Andrews Memorial Volume (p. 381) followed by Sheriff Guthrie favours expressly the year 1893; but Senhor Henriques himself says he made the discovery a short time before the publication of Hume Brown's biography - i.e. before April 1890. Naturally I prefer his account.

some preliminary investigation, had the happy thought of looking up the trials of Buchanan's fellow-prisoners.

Such is the manner in which the original documents came to light. I must now catalogue the various published and unpublished sources, and assess their value for this episode in general and for the text of Buchanan's Defences in particular.

The Original Documents. These are preserved at Lisbon, and in this country can only be consulted through facsimiles of certain small portions. The Records of Buchanan's trial (i.e. Processo no. 6469) are said to run to 94 pages '47 folios of antique reddish yellow paper stitched together'¹ (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, p. 382).

The MS. sent to Prof. Hume Brown (M). I have been privileged to consult this MS. in the library of Edinburgh University where it is now preserved. M² contains only the first group of Records. The Portuguese passages of the original are given in an English translation only; the text of the Defences is given in the Latin without translation. The volume is enriched throughout by pencilled notes and corrections inserted by Hume Brown, which I have always carefully considered.

So far as the Defences are concerned, the text of M is

¹For the sake of secrecy the Records of the Holy Office were never given out to a binder; rather those of each process were 'rudely but firmly sewed together' (Lea. ii. 474). The present Records are by no means voluminous. 'The archives (of the Portuguese Inquisition) are virtually complete. In some causes célèbres, the record fills volume upon volume. Even in some cases of minor importance, it is not uncommon to find up to a thousand closely-written folio pages'. (Roth, p. 91)

²M is a small squat notebook bound as a printed volume. The numbered pages run to 85.

extremely incorrect. I have not attempted in my apparatus criticus to note all its errors, the more glaring of which were already corrected or queried by Hume Brown. However, my collation of this text with the printed versions has been useful in confirming my conjectural emendations in many places where I had felt convinced the other versions were wrong and in one or two passages M provided the solution of a serious crux - see especially p. 21.

Hume Brown's article referred to above (SR). This article gave a brief outline of the new discoveries with a few quotations from the Lisbon documents, all extracted from the parts in Portuguese in the original, and - inevitably - following M closely. The few changes that appear are clearly due only to a desire to improve the English style of Henriques' translation.

While this article must have been most interesting when it was first published, it only professed to afford a glimpse of the new data, and is now inadequate and even inaccurate in some respects. It will thus not be necessary to refer to it frequently.

George Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition by Senhor G. J. C. Henriques. Lisboa 1906, 4to. pp. xx + 48. (H).

This work must always be the prime authority for research into this period of Buchanan's life. It contains an interesting introduction (of which I have made great use) explaining inter alia how the documents came to light and includes the text of all the records mentioned plus an English translation of the Portuguese sections. No translation is given of Buchanan's Defences and the other parts in Latin or French.

In Buchanan's Defences the text of H is not identical with that of M in spite of the common authorship.¹ Presumably a fresh recension of the originals was undertaken. Naturally many of M's errors are corrected but new inaccuracies appear, some of which must in my opinion have been due merely to inadequate correction of proofs. The too frequent mistakes detract greatly from the value of this text.

George Buchanan: A Memorial: 1506-1906: St. Andrews, 1907. (A)

This St. Andrews Memorial Volume contains with reference to Buchanan in Portugal (1) an article by Senhor Henriques covering much the same ground as the introduction to H (very often in the same language) but enriched by brief excerpts in translation of the new documents and (2) some of the new material in Appendix 1, including the text of Buchanan's Defences, to which are appended a small number of notes, both critical and exegetical.

The text of A is based solely on H. The editor, D. A. Millar, had clearly no access to the originals, and probably did not know of the existence of M. However, he was able to correct many of H's errors including the misprints, and thus make his text the most accurate yet published. In its modernized orthography and punctuation, A is far more readable than H, and is thus in every respect the best published text of Buchanan's Defences. None the less it has no independent authority, being only a corrected edition of H. The few new errors it introduces are nearly all misprints.

¹For an indication of the extent of the differences see the statistics given a little later.

Facsimiles of certain pages of the original records (in the case of the Defences the first and last pages of the First Defence) are to be found in H, A and in Sheriff Guthrie's volume. (For the last book see the bibliography.) In the apparatus criticus I refer to such facsimiles as F. Where it can be consulted F is of course conclusive.

My own text of the Defences is in the main constructed from the three complete texts in existence - M, H, A. I have added the first complete translation and the first full commentary.¹

I have already said that I consider A the best text yet published. If I have been able to improve even on this text - as I believe I have - it is mainly due to the fact that I have had the advantage of using the unpublished authority M which was not available to Mr. Millar. As a comparison of the relative value of the various texts, the following statistics which I have compiled may be of interest, though I should say that I regard my figures only as approximately correct:-

Number of errors in various texts, judged by my own text.

<u>M</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>A</u>
42	61	27

Punctuation and Spelling. In my text I have freely modernized the former. In the latter sphere I have altered the spelling of Latin words as given in former texts when such spelling was quite incorrect by modern standards. I realize that in some such cases I have altered what was doubtless Buchanan's spelling, but it did

¹The beginning and end of the First Defence are translated in A (and in Sheriff Guthrie's book) by Professor Kennedy of Aberdeen. Reference has already been made to the brief commentary in A.

not seem to me essential to keep the sixteenth-century spelling where it would to-day look odd and out of place. I have, however, kept the old-fashioned spelling in a few cases where it is not positively wrong, though perhaps now regarded as inferior.

The Apparatus Criticus. My general rule has been to note all passages where I have departed from the published texts H and A (excluding inessential alterations of spelling and punctuation). I have by no means catalogued all the errors of M.

I have always considered the suggestions of Hume Brown in M, but have only recorded under the reference HB the more noteworthy or interesting of these suggestions. This seemed the fairest course as Hume Brown's unpublished conjectures were necessarily tentative, being based on M alone, and are sometimes now out of date.

The Commentary. So far I have been dealing with the Defences only. In the Commentary, however, (and also elsewhere, as in the Historical Introduction) I have quoted from other parts of the Records. Such quotations follow, in general, the English translation as given in H. The few important deviations are duly noted. A number of errors have been corrected from the Portuguese text as given by H, and I have sometimes made changes for the sake of style, occasionally following Hume Brown in these alterations.

THE FIRST DEFENCE.

Ego Georgius Buchananus, natione Scotus, diocesis Glasguensis, aio cum anno Domini 1539 quaestio in Lutheranos decreta esset mihi timuisse ob has causas. Primum biennium fere ante fuit disputatio cum Franciscano quodam de forma iudicii rerum capitalium in Scotia et praecipue in causa haereseos. Nam cum e Gallia tum venirem ac magis Gallicos quam nostrorum mores tenerem mirabar in primis homines damnari testibus ignotis atque etiam interdum hostibus; neminem esse tam innocentem quin circumveniri possit si modo inimicos aut invidos haberet. Recens erat exemplum ob oculos mercatoris cuiusdam; qui petierat a
 4 disputatio FMA: desputatio H 7 in primis FMA: imprimi H
 8 quin FM: qui HA

I, George Buchanan, a Scot of the diocese of Glasgow, say as follows:-

When in A.D. 1539 a judicial investigation against the Lutherans was undertaken, I had apprehensions for my own safety on several accounts. In the first place, about two years before I became engaged in a controversy with a certain Franciscan as to the Scots form of process in capital cases, specially cases of heresy. For since I had just returned from France and upheld French rather than Scottish customs, I used to express my surprise for this above all - that men should be condemned on the evidence of witnesses (sometimes even their enemies) whose identity was undisclosed. For I considered that even an innocent man could scarcely escape being entrapped if he had enviers or

judicibus ut certi homines inimici capitales sui reicerentur, nec datus erat ei relectionis locus.

Is igitur Franciscanus, cum circumstantibus in ea disputatione non satisfacisset, multa de me in vulgus suspitiose seminabat. Ego invicem ut me ulciscerer epigramma vetus nostrate lingua scriptum in Latinos versus transtuli, cuius sententiam vobis ante rettuli; post id tempus odiis et conviciis res utrinque acta est, multa probra utrinque iactata citra ullam rem quae ad religionis calumniam attineret.

5 ulciscerer F M: ultiscerer H A 8 probra F M: proba H A
personal enemies. I had in my mind a recent case; an accused merchant had asked his judges to reject the evidence of certain men who were his mortal enemies, but his plea was disallowed.

Thereupon, as this Franciscan failed to satisfy those who listened to the discussion, he sowed among the populace many seeds of suspicion against me. I in retaliation translated into Latin verse an old Scots epigram. Afterwards on both sides we resorted to insolence and abuse, and on both sides we launched many insults, yet avoided any slander on religion.

Incidit interea in aula crimen coniurationis, de qua multa scire Franciscanos rex arbitrabatur. Itaque iratus illis, cum non ignoraret mihi cum illis esse inimicitias, me iussit atque etiam coegit, ut sciunt viri aliquot clarissimi nec ipsi Franciscani ignorant, carmen in eos scribere. Illi interea non cessarunt omnibus contionibus me traducere. Itaque paulo etiam quam destinaveram acerbius scripsi, sed certe citra religionis Christianae contumeliam etiam cum illa protestatione me nihil adversus Ordinem dicere aut in bonos Franciscanos, quales veteres fuerunt, sed in homines nostri temporis dissolutos, et qui a veterum institutis

7 christianae FMA: christianae H

Meanwhile at court the discovery was made of an alleged conspiracy, in which (as the king believed) the Franciscans were deeply implicated. Thus in his rage against the friars, being cognizant of the ^{enmity between} them and myself, he ordered - nay, even compelled - me to write a poem against them. This fact is known to several most distinguished men and to the Franciscans themselves. They in the meantime kept continually slandering me at all public meetings, and so I wrote even somewhat more bitterly than I had intended, but certainly without exhibiting any contempt for the Christian religion; moreover, I solemnly affirmed that I said nothing against the Order or good Franciscans as were the pioneers of the Order but blamed the profligate friars of the present day who had abandoned the rules of the pioneers. This however marvellously fanned the flame of their hate. So before I disclosed my poem I endeavoured to

descivissent. Ea res mirum in modum odia accendit. Itaque antequam carmen ostenderem conatus sum deprecari regem per homines in aula notos ne tantam invidiam mihi conflaret. Fore enim videbam ut Franciscani sollicitarent episcopos, episcopi regem aliquando a me averterent. Cum vero rex omnibus modis exigeret a me carmen, partem eius tum dedi, ut si ea contentus esset reliquum tum supprimerem. Quod etiam factum est, neque quisquam ex me nisi rex exemplar accepit.

Interea Franciscani amicam regis, mulierem nobilem et maxime apud regem potentem, in me inflammant iam antea sua sponte iratam.

1 descivissent F HB: destivissent H: destituissent A

2 ostenderem M: ostendere H A 4 episcopos M A: episcopus H

approach the king through men known at court, asking him not to subject me to such hatred. For I observed what would happen - the Franciscans would badger the bishops, and the bishops would eventually alienate the king from me. But as the king would take no refusal I then gave him a part of the poem with the intention of suppressing the remainder if he was contented. This was actually done, and the king alone received a copy of my poem from me.

Meanwhile the Franciscans excited against me a noble lady, who was the king's mistress and had the greatest influence over her royal lover. She was already angry with me on her own account; for, since she had formerly spread abroad various rumours about me,

Nam cum antea de me sparsisset rumores varios, ego ab episcopo loci iudicium de iniuria postulavi. Episcopus etsi tum rex aberat in Gallia potentiam mulieris reveritus de ea re ius dicere non est ausus.

Per idem tempus amicus quidam meus gravissimo morbo laborabat neque in extremo periculo carnem attingere audebat diebus veneris ac sabbati. Ego non solum hortatus sum illum ut carnem ederet, sed etiam quo libentius id faceret una cum illo edi idque simpliciter ac bona fide adhuc actum est.

Mulier cum id rescisset rem ad Dominicanos quosdam rettulit. Id nos postea ex uno eorum rescivimus, qui non solum factum

2 tum A: tam M H: tunc HBB

I sued her for slander before the local bishop. But he, fearing the lady's power although the king was then absent in France, did not venture to judge the case.

About the same time a certain friend of mine was suffering from a most serious illness and, though in peril of his life, would not venture to touch meat on Fridays and Saturdays. I not only exhorted him to eat meat, but also that he might do so more willingly ate along with him, and as yet all was done honestly and in good faith.

When the lady discovered this she took the story to certain Dominicans. This we afterwards learned from one of them who would not merely justify the deed, but also impelled me to venture

excusabat, sed etiam ulteriora audere compulit ut scilicet semel
 atque iterum in Quadragesima carnibus vesceremur. Valuit apud
 nos auctoritas hominis, apud suos summa auctoritate, ut qui prior
 conventus aliquando fuisset et contionator in primis clarus, ac
 praeter multa alia dictitabat etiam Christum cum apostolis agnum
 in Quadragesima edisse. Unde opinor fabula illa agni paschalis
 nata est, de qua hodie primum audiui. Atque hinc mihi prima C/
 mali labes ac primum commercium cum Lutheranis fuit; nam quae
 ante id tempus acta fuerunt, nihil penitus ad eam causam attinebant.

1 compulit M A: compulid H 2 carnibus M A: carnibms H
 5 praeter M A: paeter H 6 paschalis M A: paschali H

further so that once and again we ate meat in Lent. We were
 influenced by the reputation of a man who enjoyed the highest
 reputation among his fellows as the ex-prior of a convent and an
 exceptionally famous preacher, and among much else he used to say
 that even Christ ate lamb with his apostles in Lent. Hence, I
 suppose, originated that fable of the paschal lamb, of which I
 heard to-day for the first time. And thus I received the first
 taint of evil and my earliest intercourse with Lutherans; for
 events before this time had nothing at all to do with that sect.

Interea quaestio decreta est. Ego regem per amicos in aula deprecari sum conatus, quod per illum ac eius potissimum impulsu in id mali incidissem. Ille me accitum ad se tribus aulicis interrogandum de his rebus dedit, quibus omnia ut acta erant simpliciter atque ex fide sum confessus. Cum illi mihi multa minarentur ac nullam spem veniae ostenderent si quicquam negarem, cumque eos etiam viderem meae adversariae intimos esse et totam quaestionem a patre eius regi, plura etiam quam facta sunt dixi nequid causari possent. Ea nocte cum iam admodum serum esset apud secretarium regium apud quem haec acta sunt fui. Postridie

6 quicquam M: quicque H A 8 etiam quam M A: etiam que H

To resume - the investigation was ordered. I endeavoured to appeal to the king through friends at court, because through him and mostly by his instigation I had become involved in this trouble. He summoned me to him, and handed me over to three courtiers for examination on these matters, to whom I straightforwardly and sincerely confessed everything as it had taken place. When they kept threatening me greatly and held out no hope of pardon unless I admitted everything, and I also perceived that they were close friends of my enemy and that the whole investigation was directed by her father, I admitted even more than the truth to leave them no pretext for objection. That night, as it was already very late, I stayed at the house of the king's secretary, where the examination took place. The next day the king bade me depart

rex me iussit in hospitium meum liberum abire cum bona spe, fore pollicitus omnium praeteritorum veniam.

Per id tempus maxime praeparabatur bellum in Anglos a ²¹ pontifice ac vicinis regibus, spe coniurationis quae tum fere etiam in Anglia detecta est. Rex Scotiae cum quaedam explorare vellet in Anglia me maxime ad id putavit idoneum, ut qui videri possem sectae causa ad illos transisse; quod adeo verum fuit ut paulum afuerit quin Angli me rursus in Scotiam ad explorandas res Scotorum dimitterent, cum ego adfirmarem mihi amicos esse per quos quidvis secreto transigi posset. Rex igitur Scotiae (ut illuc redeam) me per aulicum quendam admonuit quae in rem essent,

8 quin M A: cum H

freely to my lodging with good hope, promising me a pardon for all that was past.

At this very time war against England was being prepared by the Pope and the neighbouring kings, who based their hopes on the conspiracy which about this time was also revealed in England. The King of Scotland, wishing certain information on English affairs, considered me the most suitable person for the task, as one who could adopt the role of a religious refugee. Indeed this was so true that the English were within an ace of sending me back again to Scotland to spy on Scottish affairs, as I asserted that I had friends through whose agency any business could be secretly transacted. The King of Scotland then (to return to the point) gave me necessary instructions through a

ac ita discedere iussit quasi clam fuga elapsus essem. Haec ego hactenus celaveram quod non ignorem si rescita fuerint quantum mihi instet periculum et ab Anglis et a Scotis qui tum in Anglia exulabant, nunc vero domi plurimum ac potius omnia possunt; deinde quod non existimaveram magnopere interesse vestra ea scire praesertim cum ad causam non magnopere pertineant.

Voluntatis regiae erga me indicium id fuit multis, quod postridie demum illius diei post meridiem iusserit persequi qui me comprehenderent cum ego iam in Anglia esse possem quippe quae triginta milia passuum tantum absit: quod famulum meum ex itinere retractum iusserit dimitti: quod notos homines interrogarit

8 diei A HB: die M H

certain courtier, and by his order my departure resembled a secret escape. Up to now I had concealed the truth of these events because, if it becomes publicly known, I am well aware of the peril I stand in both from the English and from the Scots, then exiles in England, but now most powerful - nay, all-powerful - at home; and secondly because I had not thought it was of great interest to you to know these facts especially as they are not particularly relevant to the case.

Many took it as an indication of royal favour towards me, that only on the next day after noon did the king issue orders for my pursuit and arrest (when I could already be in England as the border was only thirty miles distant): that, when my servant was brought back from his journey, he bade him be dismissed: that he asked well-known men whether they had seen me at London.

an me vidissent Londinii; quid illic agerem: quod omnia secunda de me libenter audiret ac in primis illud quod iam Burdegalae essem: quod multis repugnantibus fratrem meum in locum substituerit, semper comiter allocutus sit, atque humaniter tractaverit. Itaque illo vivo nemo Scotus mihi facessere negotium est ausus, cum id quod erat aliqua ex parte suspicarentur.

Igitur cum principio Ianuarii discessissem e Scotia, multum in itinere vexatus ac spoliatus et pro speculatore aliquot locis retentus, vix tandem Londinium sub initium Quadragesimae veni. Ibi multorum contiones in diversa trahentium animos auditorum audiui, ex quibus vacillabat interdum infirma mens et rationum fluctibus modo in hanc, modo in illanc partem ferebatur; quarum

9 Londinium A: Londinum M H

Other signs were my business there, his willing reception of all favourable news about me - especially that I was already at Bordeaux - and his conferring my appointment despite great opposition on my brother whom he always addressed courteously and treated kindly. Thus in his lifetime no Scot dared to cause me annoyance, since to some extent the truth was suspected.

I left Scotland, then, at the beginning of January; but yet, as I met much trouble on the road, falling among thieves and being detained as a spy in several places, I reached London at last with difficulty shortly before the beginning of Lent. There I was present at many public meetings where speakers influenced the minds of their audience in diverse directions. The result was that my feeble intellect sometimes wavered and was tossed by the

rerum capita inferius quantum suggeret memoria exponam. Multos item utriusque partis libros legi; multa fuerunt mihi simulanda ac dissimulanda pro persona quam gerebam.

Sub Quadragesimam rumor belli increbuit ac paucis post diebus nuntiatum est circiter centum naves Hollandicas in proximo ad ancoras stare expectantes siquis motus popularium fieret. Porro ad eum nuntium tota Anglia in armis erat. Nullam igitur de egressu meo mentionem ausus sum facere donec is motus plane sedatus est 2/ sub finem aestatis ac tum etiam Anglis persuaseram mihi iter in Germaniam esse; uni Hiberno ausus sum profiteri me in Galliam proficisci cum quo una Lutetiam veni mense Augusto. Burdegalam

9 aestatis ac tum etiam M A HB: istatis ac tum etaeam H

waves of argument now this way, now that: the heads of these matters I will set forth later so far as memory supplies them. Likewise I read many books on both sides; for to act my part there was much I had to feign and conceal.

Shortly before Lent the rumour of war gained ground and a few days later the news came that about a hundred Dutch ships stood close by at anchor waiting for a popular rising to take place. At this news all England at once flew to arms. Thus I did not venture to mention my departure until the excitement had wholly died down towards the end of summer and even then I had convinced the English that I was journeying to Germany; to an Irishman alone I ventured to admit that I was going to France and in his company I arrived at Paris in the month of August. Next

deinde Septembri profectus sum quod per id tempus plurimae naves
Scotorum et Anglorum convenire illuc soleant. Ibi cum accepissem
Regem Scotiae cum classe profectum esse ad compescendos motus
insulanorum statui eam hiemem Burdegalae expectare dum nuntium de
reditu ab eo acciperem, neque enim eius iniussu redire aut audebam
aut volebam; interim condicionem ab Andrea Goveano accepi.

Illa hieme semina belli inter Scotos et Anglos iacta sunt
quod bellum ad hunc usque annum 1550 duravit.

2 Scotorum M A: Scoturum H soleant M H A: fortasse solebant HB

in September I set out for Bordeaux because at that time most
Scottish and English ships used to assemble at that port. When
I heard there that the King of Scotland had set out with a fleet
to repress the disturbances in the Isles, I resolved to spend that
winter at Bordeaux till I should receive from the King a message
about my return, for without an order from him I had neither the
boldness nor the desire to return. In the meantime I accepted
a post from André de Gouveia.

During that winter the seeds were sown of the Anglo-Scottish
war which has lasted up to the present year 1550.

Haec sunt igitur capita quaestionum de quibus me aut dubitasse aut haesitasse memini.

De libero arbitrio haec ego semper prae me tuli - nec me intellegere posse Deum sine providentia, nec hominem sine libero arbitrio. Quomodo vero illa inter se conveniant non putavi mihi anxie disquirendum esse, nec unquam in disquisitionem vocavi nisi in scholis quomodo vulgo fieri solet. Nec memini me postquam ex Anglia veni de ea re disseruisse nisi nuper in scholis Conimbricae adversus eos qui ponebant facta posse esse infecta.

De votis scripto in tragoedia de voto Jephthe meam sententiam

10tragoedia M: tragaedia H A Jephthe ego: Jephthe M H: Jephthe A

Now follow the heads of the questions on which to my remembrance I harboured doubts or scruples.

On free-will I have always professed that in my eyes the idea of God necessarily involves foreknowledge, and the idea of man free-will. But I did not consider that I ought anxiously to inquire how these principles mutually agree, nor have I ever investigated the subject except in the schools as is the general custom. Moreover, so far as I remember, I have not discussed this question since I left England except lately in the schools at Coimbra when I opposed those who held the view that what is done can be not done.

On vows I revealed my opinion by a passage in my tragedy on the

ostendi cuius disputationis haec summa est: vota quae licite fiunt omnia servanda, ac multi etiam sciunt Conimbricae me orationem Barpt. Latomi super hac re contra Bucerum et legere libenter solitum, et semper laudare.

Ego omnium religionum receptarum instituta probavi, multorum hominum mores non probavi. Multos religiosos atque eorum instituta nominatim saepe et multis in locis laudavi ut Conimbricae Bernardinos et Eligianos de quibus nunquam nisi honorifice sum loquutus, qui viri mihi videntur vere antiquos mores referre.

De his vero qui Apostoli vocantur non id unum reprehendi quod

vow of Jephthah. The sum of the discussion was as follows: - vows which were lawfully made should always be kept, and moreover many know that at Coimbra it was my custom gladly to read and always to commend the speech of Barthélemy Latomus on this subject against Bucer.

The rules of all the recognized religious Orders I approved, but disapproved of the characters of many men. At many times and in many places I have praised by name many religious and their rules - for example, at Coimbra the Bernardines and the Eligians, whom I always spoke of with respect as men who in my opinion truly mirror the character of their predecessors.

However, in the case of those who are called the Apostles, I not only blamed their practice of badgering immature boys against the

pueros impuberes sollicitarent contra morem aliarum religionum, sed alia quaedam quae de eis iactabantur: quarum rerum querelas ad Iacobum Goveanum gymnasiarcham saepe detuli, nunquam in vulgus effudi. Contra vero in institutis eorum plurima etiam probavi et laudavi, ut nemo nisi malignus interpres in odium religionis ea dicta fuisse existimet quae culpabam: quod si etiam in hoc genere errarim id certe ita modeste feci ut non petulantia sed simplicitate peccarim.

Burdegalae vero cum occurrissem Io. Pinario qui ante paucos dies Tolosae Dominicanus factus erat, ut vulgo certe ferebatur, quod aegre ferret se minus laute quam volebat vestitum conspici,

I impuberes scripsi: impuberos M H A8 peccarim M A: pectarim H

wont of other Orders but censured certain other customs which they were reputed to follow. My complaints on these matters I often carried to Principal Diogo de Gouveia, but never spread abroad in public. On the contrary I used even to express approval and commendation for most of their rules, so that only one actuated by malice could interpret my censures as being due to hatred of the Order: but if I did err in this way my error was surely so slight that I was guilty of artlessness rather than of wanton transgression.

At Bordeaux, however, when I had met Joam Pinheiro who a few days before had been made a Dominican at Toulouse because (as at least was generally reported) he was annoyed that he had been seen

conspici, cui opinioni cum mores hominis antea mihi noti congruere viderentur, coepi liberius iocari cum illo pro antiqua familiaritate. Quid autem dixerim non memini certe nihil opinor me dixisse quod non soleat in Gallia vulgo dici, ac possit libere ubique inter amicos. Et tamen illum notabiliter offensum sensi quod mihi qui eum paulo ante noveram non tam gravis visus est quam ipse omnibus se videri volebat.

Eiusdem Gallicae libertatis erat illud quod homini molesto quem videbam ansam disputandi quaerere roganti quis fecit primus monachos ego forte respondi 'tonsor et vestiarius'. Is qui fuerit

9 ansam scripsi: ans . . . M: ausam H: causam A

clad less richly than he wished (an opinion warranted by my previous knowledge of his character), I began to jest with him the more freely because of our old friendship. I have no sure remembrance of what I said, but I think I said nothing which goes beyond what custom allows to be said publicly in France and what can be said everywhere between friends. And yet I observed that he was perceptibly offended because to me who had known him a little before he did not seem so important as he would wish to appear to be to all.

Another example of French freedom of speech was the following. - When a troublesome fellow who, as I saw, sought a pretext for an argument, asked me 'Who first made monks?' I casually replied 'The barber and the tailor'. I have no clear remembrance of his name, but this I am assured of, that nowhere in France are men wont

certe non memini, hoc autem scio in Gallia nusquam homines huiusmodi verbis offendi solere.

Scripsi Burdegalae dialogum qui publice exhibitus est et privatim apud multos actus, a nemine quod sciam reprehensus, in quo reprehendebantur patres qui liberos suos invitos ad monachatum adigunt, nihil animadvertentes idonei sint necne ad id institutum: cuius scribendi occasio haec erat. Nobilis quidam in Santonibus Monsieur de Mirambeau duas habebat filias ex priore uxore ad quas perveniebat hereditas opulenta ex morte matris. Pater autem arguebatur eas invitas intrusisse in monasterium eius hereditatis causa; nam in Santonibus parentibus liberi et liberis parentes

3 publice A HB: publicae M H 6 idonei A HB: hjdonei H: jdonei M
9 perveniebat HB: proveniebat M H A

to be offended by this kind of talk.

At Bordeaux I wrote a sketch which was made known to the public and privately acted before many people, and by no one so far as I know was it condemned. In this work I condemned those fathers who drive their unwilling children to the cloister with no consideration of their suitability for that way of life. The following incident was the occasion of my writing this work - M. de Mirambeau, a noble of Saintonge, had two daughters by his first wife who were heirs to a rich inheritance on their mother's death. Now the father was charged with thrusting the girls against their will into a nunnery for the sake of that inheritance,

succedunt. Hae autem puellae tum maxime adversus patrem litigabant in senatu Burdegalensi. Is dialogus tum neminem quod sciam offenderat neque quicquam continebat quod in Gallia non agi et dici et liceat et soleat.

De matrimonio sacerdotum hoc sensi: votum his qui fecissent servandum sed certe minus scandalum futurum si, ut solebat antiquitus, presbyteri, hoc est seniores, tantum ordinarentur, aut permitteretur eis matrimonium.

An vero quisquam sine speciali gratia possit caste vivere quaestionem eam putavi magis pertinere ad medicos quam ad theologos, ac de ea re fuit mihi sermo cum Nicolao Pichoto medico Burdegalensi

2 tum A: tam M H: tamen HB

for in Saintonge children succeed to parents and vice versa. Now these girls at this very time were suing their father before the parliament of Bordeaux. This sketch then had offended nobody so far as I know and its contents were such as custom permits to be acted and said in France.

As regards the marriage of priests I considered that those bound by vow should keep their vow, but certainly there would be less scandal if the older practice of ordaining only the presbyters (i.e. the elders) was followed, or if priests were allowed to marry.

Can any one live in chastity without special grace? That question, I considered, fell in the sphere of medicine rather than of theology, and I discussed it with Nicholas Pichot, a

homine docto qui mihi plane persuasit libidinem arte et diaeta minui multis rationibus posse.

De veste vero Franciscanorum an tantam vim habeat quantum vulgus credit, hoc est liberos a poenis fore et omnino remitti eis peccata qui in ea sepeliuntur, nunquam mihi necessario credendum putavi quippe cum id nec Scripturis sit traditum nec ab Ecclesia sancitum.

Atque, ut obiter id attingam, nunquam putavi mihi esse necesse ut fidem adhiberem miraculis nisi his praesertim quae gravissimis auctoribus confirmata essent: non quod credam non posse per Sanctos atque etiam per Diabolum opera mirabilia saepe praesentari sed quod ex uno ficto miraculo plus fit mali si res learned doctor of Bordeaux, who fully convinced me that in many ways lust could be restrained by medical art and dieting.

As to whether the Franciscan garb has such virtue as the vulgar believe - viz. that those buried in it shall escape punishment and receive total remission of their sins -, I never thought that I was bound to accept this belief inasmuch as it is neither handed down by Scripture nor warranted by the Church.

And, to touch the matter in passing, I never considered that I was obliged to give credence to miracles except to those in particular which were confirmed by the most weighty authors; not that I believe that it is impossible for marvellous works to be often manifested through the Saints and even through the Devil,

fiat palam quam ex multis veris boni. Id ego multis exemplis edoctus dico. Fratrum Bernensium multis nota est historia quae turbavit Helvetios. Infinita huius generis uno tempore prodierunt quae totam subverterunt Angliam. Aureliae in Gallia Franciscani, prope Tolosam sacerdotes, in suburbio Lutetiano procurator Benedictinorum - quantos tumultus excivissent nisi magistratus severe animadvertissent.

In Scotia purgatorio multum fidei detraxit Gulielmus Langius Franciscanus dum purgatorium miraculo vult confirmare.

6 Benedictinorum (?) M: Benedictorum H A magistratus HB:

Neilson: ingratus (?) M: nigrantus H A

but because the evil that is done by the discovery of one faked miracle outweighs the good of many genuine miracles. Many know the story of the friars of Berne which shook Switzerland. A countless number of such acts transpired simultaneously and gravely disturbed the whole of England. At Orleans in France the Franciscans, near Toulouse the priests, in a Parisian suburb the procurator of the Benedictines - what tumults these would have aroused had not the magistrates severely punished the guilty!

In Scotland William Lang the Franciscan greatly diminished faith in purgatory while desiring to support purgatory by a miracle.

De purgatorio vero nunquam dubitavi quin crederem esse locum poenae aeternae ac alium poenae temporalis post mortem cum nullum peccatum sit quod non aliquam poenam mereatur etiamsi culpa condonetur.

Illud vero aliquando dubitavi an indulgentiae pertineretⁿ etiam ad mortuos, nec alia res nisi determinatio Ecclesiae me eo scrupulo liberavit. De qua dicam inferius.

De iustificatione putavi diversis verbis idem dicere vos et Lutheranos, cum alteri dicerent hominem iustificari ex fide et operibus, alteri ex fide per caritatem operante; ac in tam tenui discrimine dolebam eos non convenire de re maxima. Quod si quando simpliciter ex fide iustificari nos dicebant, id ita

IO caritatem supplevi ex M: fide per operante H: fide peroperante A
 II eos M H A: eis HB

As regards purgatory indeed I never had any hesitation in believing that there was a place of eternal punishment and another place of temporal punishment after death, since every sin deserves some penance even if the guilt is forgiven.

Sometimes indeed I doubted whether indulgences had reference even to the dead, and only the decision of the Church resolved this difficulty for me. Of this I shall speak later.

On justification I thought that you and the Lutherans made the same statement in different words, since the one party said that man was justified by faith and works, and the other by faith acting through charity; and when the distinction was so small I was grieved that they did not agree on so important a matter.

accipiebam ac si dicerent fide perfecta quae coniunctam habet caritatem quae otiosa non est.

Cum in Scotia legerem libros Augustini De Doctrina Christiana et in locum incidissem libro 3 ubi quaedam eo pertinentia verba explicat, ostendi locum fratri Dominicano primi nominis apud nostros ac interrogavi quid sibi videretur. Ille nihil de re dixit sed me apud alios traducebat tanquam sacramentarium. Quae res multiplex malum mihi creavit; nam et dubium multo magis quam antea remisit, et summam vulgo infamiam mihi conflavit, et fecit ne postea si qua in re dubitarem cuiquam me aperire auderem. Cur autem id fecerit novit Deus; quid alii suspicati sint non attinet scribere.

But if they ever kept saying without qualification that we were justified by faith, I would take it as if they said by faith made perfect. Such faith is united with charity which is not idle.

In Scotland when I read the books of Augustine On Christian Doctrine and chanced on that passage in the third book where he expounds some words that refer to this topic, I showed the passage to a Dominican friar of the first repute with us and asked him what he thought. He said nothing to the point, but everywhere kept slandering me to others as a sacramentarian. This action caused me manifold harm; for he dismissed me in a state of much greater doubt than I was in before, and brought me into the greatest ill-repute among the public, and prevented me from venturing henceforth to reveal my doubts (if I had any) to any

Accesserunt postea alii Augustini loci qui vehementius animum meum commoverunt ac maiorem iniecerunt scrupulum, ita ut plane Augustinus ab adversariis stare videretur cui ego semper plurimum tribuebam. Interæa si de ea re inciderat sermo fieri potest ut ego meam de Augustino sententiam aperirem (nam id nunquam dissimulavi) sed ita ut ipse nunquam ausus sim definire quicquam. Neque enim ita ei assentiebar ut plane illi crederem, sed ut tanti viri auctoritas turbaret animum. Tam haesitationem meam

2 iniecerunt scripsi: iniecerant M H A 4 inciderat HB:
inciderit M H A

person. Why he acted thus God knows: what others suspected it is irrelevant to write.

Afterwards other Augustinian passages also disturbed my mind more severely and raised a greater rock of offence so that Augustine (whose authority I ever rated very highly) seemed to me to stand wholly on our enemies' side. In the meantime, if conversation had chanced on this matter, I would perhaps disclose my opinion of Augustine - for it I never concealed - but in such manner that I never ventured to make any definitive pronouncement for myself. For my agreement with Augustine did not amount to whole-hearted belief, but the authority of so great a man disturbed my mind. This wavering of mine I disclosed to André de

per otium feriis paschalibus antequam communicarem ad And. Goveanum rettuli. Is mihi primus ostendit in sacramento eucharistiae et corpus esse et signum, neque eum qui diceret signum esse statim negare verum corpus Christi adesse, neque contra. Quod responsum eius cum varie confirmaret tam mihi omnino satisfecit, postea vero animum plane confirmarunt scripta Roffensis et Clithovei, ea potissimum quae de auctoritate Ecclesiae disputant non solum in hac parte sed in omnibus aliis. Accesserunt contiones doctorum virorum Lutetiae atque etiam Burdegalae quae mihi satisfecerunt.

1 communicarem H A HB: comitarem M 3 neque eum . . . adesse M H:

om. A 6 satisfecit M A: satisfecit H

Gouveia during leisure at the Easter holidays before I communicated. He was the first to show me that in the sacrament of the Eucharist there is both the body and the symbol, and that he who says the symbol is there does not forthwith deny the presence of the true body of Christ, while the reverse of this is also true. Since in various ways he confirmed his reply, he completely satisfied me at the time; later indeed my mind was thoroughly strengthened by the writings of Rochester and Clichtoveus, especially those which discuss the authority of the Church not only in this matter but in all others. Further satisfaction was given to me by meetings of learned men at Paris and also at Bordeaux.

Cum de eucharistia dubitabam quod tempus coepit sub meum ex Anglia discessum usque ad proximum pascha (nam in Scotia magis disquirebam etiam quam disputabam et in Anglia de ea re vetitum erat disputare), necesse erat etiam de Missa an esset sacrificium disputare praesertim cum haec inter se connexa sint. Neque memini tamen unquam in ulla disputatione hanc rem a me agitatam nisi in disputatione quadam publica ad quam me et alios provocaverat Melchior Flavius Franciscanus: argumenta vero quibus usus sum illic agitavi cum aliis, ac postea quibusdam recitavi, idque simpliciter.

10 p. 24

/ satisfecerunt M A: satisfecerunt H 2 proximum M A:
proximum H

While I harboured doubts about the Eucharist (now this period was from my departure from England to the next Easter; for in Scotland I used to pursue inquiries rather than engage in discussions and in England the law forbade discussion of this matter), I had necessarily to discuss whether the Mass was a sacrifice - all the more as these matters are interconnected. Yet I do not remember that I ever raised this question in any disputation except in a public debate to which I and others had been challenged by Melchior Flavius, a Franciscan; but the arguments I used on that occasion I mooted in other company, and later - but in all sincerity - repeated them to certain persons.

Unane Missa debeat esse an plures nunquam interposui meam sententiam. Illud saepe dixi multas res esse quae minus venerationis haberent ex frequentia. Dixi me libentius audire magnam Missam in secreto aliquo templo quam frequenti, quod in templis celebrioribus eo tempore plures contractus transigi viderem quam in foro. Ex his verbis quid maligni interpretes collegerint nescio, neque etiam id praestare possum.

Missas vero qui plures audiat quam ego in tantis occupationibus puto esse neminem, cuius rei testem habeo totam viciniam. Missas autem a privatis dici imperari pro furto inveniando ac aliis id genus absurdum putavi.

1 Unane A HB: Una ne M H

On the proper frequency of Masses I never put forward my opinion. What I often said was that in many cases familiarity breeds contempt. I said that I would rather hear High Mass in some secluded church than in one that was thronged, because I perceived that at that time more business contracts were signed in the more fashionable churches than in the market-place. I know not how malicious tongues may have distorted these words, nor can I be responsible for such distortions.

But as for Masses I think that no man as busy as I hears more, and this I call the whole neighbourhood to witness. But that laymen should order Masses to be said to discover theft and for suchlike purposes I considered absurd.

Orationem rem longe sanctissimam esse sentio. Multa tamen saepe dixi in eos qui temere orant (hoc est non animadvertunt quid dicant), item in eos qui vel evangelium vel alias orationes quasi carmen magicum ad usus profanos applicant ac certis verbis febrim depelli vel alios morbos credunt: qua in re multos offendi vel qui fiduciam in his rebus collocant vel qui quaestum hinc faciunt. In his erant qui clavem vertendo de furto divinant, qui salicis virgam fissam certis verbis coire faciunt ac ex ea crucem depellendae feбри faciunt, ac alia multa id genus. Hi cum reprehenduntur statim Lutherani nomen reprehensoribus obiciunt.

5 credunt scripsi: credant M H A

The sanctity of prayer I fully recognize. However, I have often spoken against those who pray at random (i.e. without paying attention to what they say), also against those who apply the Lord's Prayer or other prayers as a magic incantation for secular uses and who believe that fever or other diseases can be banished by a formula; and in this connection I have offended the many who either place their confidence in or derive profit from such methods. Among those people are those who practise divination of theft by turning a key, those who by a formula cause a forked twig of willow to unite and from it make a cross for banishing fever, and the like. When these people are rebuked they immediately stigmatize their censurers as Lutherans.

Delectum ciborum, vestium et confessionem auricularem certo tempore et modo ex institutione humana omnia sed utilia semper putavi: quae si quis non observet peccare quidem ex inobedientia cum non solum Ecclesiae sed etiam principum legibus obediendum sit, sed leve id peccatum esse si sine scandalo fieret, cum ad mores regendos tanquam leges civiles sint.

In cibis illud sensi: non cibum ipsum inquinare hominem sed vel inobedientiam vel scandalum. Usus autem sum cibis promiscue cum incidebat occasio fere per biennium: postquam vero ab Anglia egressus sum nunquam quod sciam nisi valetudinis causa quae magna ex parte mihi adversa fuit ex gravissimo Burdegalae coelo, unde longum morbum contraxi destillationis, qui nunquam

The choice of food and raiment and auricular confession at set seasons and in a set manner were in my eyes matters determined by men but I always recognized their utility. The non-observance of these rules, I considered, certainly implies the sin of disobedience since we should obey not only the laws of the Church but also the laws of civil rulers, but if scandal is avoided the sin is venial as the object of such rules is the same as that of the laws of the state - to regulate morality.

As for food I felt that not food itself defiles man but either disobedience or scandal. Indeed for about two years I ate all kinds of food as occasion would chance; but since I left England I have never done so, so far as I know, except on grounds of health. For my health was mostly unfavourable because of the most unwholesome climate of Bordeaux, where I contracted a

nisi hac aestate intermisit.

Confessione semper usus ex more ecclesiastico etiam in Anglia quanquam ibi non communicavi, cum in maximis rebus ab eis dissentirem - videlicet pontificis potestate quam semper maximam esse prae me tuli sed ita ut pontificem in potestate concilii dicerem esse quae res saepe canonici iuris studiosos offendit aequae atque illud quod dicebam canonistarum scientiam esse periculis obnoxiam, quae concilii generalis uno decreto possit eis auferri; item quod aliquando dixerim pontificem praeter clavem Petri aliam (hoc est multas rationes colligendae pecuniae) habere qua omnium loculos aperiret.

3 comunicavi H A HB: comitavi M

lingering disease in the catarrh which has continually afflicted me till this summer.

Confession I always practised according to the custom of the Church even in England, although there I did not communicate, since I disagreed with the English on most important issues - e.g. the power of the Pope whose supremacy I always professed with the proviso that I declared the Pope to be subordinate to the Council. Experts in the canon law were often offended by this remark and by my repeated statement that canonic jurisprudence was a science not free from dangers, since it could be abolished by a single decree of a General Council. They were also offended because I once said that the Pope besides Peter's key had another to open everybody's purse - i.e. many ways of raising money.

Dissentiebam item ab Anglis de praeceptis humanis cum existimarem etiam profanorum magistratum leges et iussa sub poena peccati observanda: item quod nunquam persuadere mihi poterant Regem Angliae caput esse Ecclesiae Anglicanae: item de purgatorio, de libero arbitrio, de potestate pontificis, de votis, de Ecclesia, in qua se nunquam mihi explicare poterant quid esset aut quae. Itaque cum primum potui ut illinc evasi meam sententiam de Anglis explicavi in ea tragoedia quae est de Io. Baptista, in qua quantum materiae similitudo patiebatur mortem et accusationem Thomae Mori repraesentavi, et speciem tyrannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui.

2 magistratum HB: ingratum M: ingrantuum H A⁵ libero MA:
 libro H 8 in qua quantum materiae similitudo in qua quantum
 materiae similitudo (sic) M H: duplicem lectionem om. A e/

I used also to disagree with the English because in the matter of human commands I thought that the laws and orders of even the civil magistrate should be obeyed on pain of sin, and also because they could never convince me that the King of England was Head of the Anglican Church. Other issues on which we disagreed were purgatory, free-will, the Pope's authority, vows and the Church. On the last issue they could never explain to me its essence or its nature. Accordingly, as soon as possible when I had escaped thence I recorded my opinion of the English in that tragedy which deals with John the Baptist, wherein, so far as the likeness of the material would permit, I represented the death and accusation of Thomas More and set before the eyes an image of the tyranny of

Haec sunt quae memoria suppetunt mihi in quibus animus fere per biennium in Scotia et Anglia haesit aut interdum male sensit, aut in quibus cum male sentientibus consensi et coivi societatem.

Burdegalae vero quicquid fui temporis illud in vero disquirendo consumpsi adeo ut, cum edoctus fuisset ex Roffensi et Clichtoveo quanta esset orthodoxae Ecclesiae auctoritas, mecum statuerem in posterum minus mihi credere, atque ut rationes humanas in profanis disciplinis quaererem, in rebus sacris auctoritati Scripturae crederem cuius neminem interpretem praeter Ecclesiae

ll p.30 ob oculos M A: ab oculos H

that time.

These are the matters stored up by my memory on which my mind wavered or sometimes thought wrongly for about two years in Scotland and England, or in connection with which I agreed and held company with those who thought wrongly.

But all the time I was at Bordeaux I spent in anxiously seeking out the truth with the result that, when I had learned from Rochester and Clichtoveus the extent of the authority of the orthodox Church, I resolved in my own mind to be less self-confident in future, and, while seeking for human arguments in secular studies, to trust in sacred matters the authority of Scripture of which I would acknowledge as sole interpreter the

C/ Catholicae consensum susciperem. Quae cogitatio adeo animum meum fregit ut per postremum biennium quod fui Burdegalae nullum insolentius verbum ex me auditum arbitrer cuius non esset mihi facilis ratio in Gallia ubi sermonis in iocando et comoediarum in agendo summa libertas est non modo in alios sed etiam in regem ipsum. Itaque durissimae inquisitionis temporibus nemo me unquam levissima suspitione aspersit.

Sub finem anni 1543 Lutetiam profectus sum omnino ea mente ut in Scotiam redirem ac me restituerem Ecclesiae. Ibi cum a Paulo pontifice maximo Bulla veniae generalis promulgata esset omnibus qui se reconciliare vellent Ecclesiae, eam ego tum veniam libenter amplexus sum, quippe qui omnes rationes sum secutus ut

6 nemo M H: nmo A 8 finem M H: flnem A 9 ut om. M H: Add. A H

agreement of the Catholic Church. My mind was so subdued by this reflection that for the last two years I was at Bordeaux I think no word at all out of the ordinary fell from my lips except such as I could easily account for in France where sportive conversation and theatrical comedies enjoy the utmost freedom of attack against anybody, not excluding the king himself. So in times of the harshest inquisition no one ever sullied me with the slightest suspicion.

Towards the end of the year 1543 I set out for Paris with the express intention of returning to Scotland and reinstating myself in the Church. There when Pope Paul announced a general

non modo crimen sed etiam suspicionem criminis a me removerem. Neque propterea destiti in patriam velle reverti ut de scandalo quod illic excitaram omnibus publice satisfacerem. Neque enim animo illic habitandi redire volebam sed me purgandi. Nam praeter poenitentiam a sacerdote mihi indictam ego mihimet ipse aliam indixi mea sponte ut videlicet perpetuum mihi exilium consciscerem ubi me semel purgassem, praeterea ut meus labor Ecclesiae semper deserviret nec ullos honores unquam aut fructus ex Ecclesia perciperem.

3 excitaram M H: excitarem A 5 mihimet ipse HB:

mihimetipsi H A: mihi metipsi M

Bull of pardon for all who desired reconciliation to the Church, I then gladly embraced that pardon, as a man would who has pursued every means to avoid not only wrong-doing but even the suspicion of wrong-doing. But not for this did I give up my desire to return home that I might give public satisfaction to all men for the scandal which I had aroused there. For my purpose in desiring to return was to clear myself, not to stay at home. For besides the penance imposed on me by the priest I imposed on myself voluntarily an additional penance - namely, the infliction of lifelong exile on myself when once I had cleared myself, and in addition that without ever receiving any honours or emoluments from the Church I should always by my industry serve the Church

2/ sealously.

Interea Lutetiae usus sum consuetudine eorum hominum qui longissime a suspitione abessent. Cum Io. Ershin, priore coenobii Divi Colmoci ac fratre illius mulieris quae mihi creavit omnes molestias, familiarissime vixi, cum Gulielmo Cranstono, qui nunc opinor est doctor theologus, cum Davide Panitario tum legato qui nunc est Archiepiscopus Glascuensis ac legatus Scotorum in Gallia qui me saepe humaniter mensa sua excepit et cui praelecturus fueram literas Graecas nisi mihi morbus impedimento fuisset. Denique nullus fuit alicuius nominis tum Lutetiae Scotus cuius familiari consuetudine non sim usus.

Verum cum ex destillatione in morbum articulare in omnes corporis artus diffusum incidissem, qui me tota aestate et autumn

6 archiepiscopus M: archiepiscopos H A

Meanwhile at Paris I enjoyed the acquaintance of those whom above all suspicion could not touch. I lived on the most familiar terms with John Erskine, prior of Inchmahome and brother of the lady who had caused all my troubles, with William Cranstoun, who is now, I think, a doctor of theology, and with David Painter then an envoy who is now Archbishop of Glasgow and Scottish Ambassador to the French court. The last-named often entertained me courteously at dinner and had intended to hear lectures on Greek from me had not my illness intervened. In fine, there was then no Scot of any renown at Paris whose close acquaintance I did not enjoy.

But when after my catarrh I was attacked by gout which spread into all the limbs of my body and kept me confined to bed all the

detinuit affixum lecto, mea profectio in patriam impedita est. Successit tempus illud quo per factiones domesticas Scotorum Angli magnam partem Scotiae armis obtinuerunt ac totam occupaturi videbantur ut iam nec si possem redire liberet. Itaque omnino de patria repetenda animum abieci et qui antea id solum cogitabam tum condicionem requirendam putavi ubi desperata salute patriae longissime ab eius malis audiendis abessem.

Offerebant mihi in Gallia amplas condiciones Abbas Iveriaci homo nobilissimus qui me etiam in morbo pecunia benigne iuverat, in

4 liberet M H: liceret A 8 Iveriaci scripsi: Jueriaci M H A

summer and autumn, my departure to my country was hindered. There followed that period when owing to the civil disturbances of the Scots the English held by arms a great part of Scotland and seemed like to occupy the whole country so that now I had no desire to return even had I had the power. And so I utterly abandoned my design of revisiting my country and I, who formerly would think of that alone, now considered that I must look for a post where in my despair of my country's salvation I might be as far as possible removed from hearing of her woes.

Honourable posts were offered to me in France by the Abbé d'Ivry, a most noble man who also had kindly given me financial assistance when I was ill; also in Gascony by the Bishops of

Vasconibus item Episcopi Tarbellensis et Condomensis, in aula regia Card. Lotharing. et Card. Guiriacensis et Franciae Cancellarius suasu Io. Gagnei theologi et Lazari Bayfii quorum domestica consuetudine usus sum aliquot menses in aula. Ego tamen tenuiorem hic secutus sum ut quamlongissime, ut dixi, a patriae malis abessem. Hoc demum anno cum pacem cum Anglis factam audissem statueram iterum in patriam redire ac omnibus quod in me esset satisfacere.

Superiore ergo illo triennio multa per ignorantiam, multa per negligentiam, iuvenilis aetatis impetum, pravam consuetudinem et dixi et feci quae nequiter perverse et impie facta intellego; quorum ego cum poenitentiam egissem anno 1544 putavi ea apud

2 Lotharing. HB: Lothoring. M H A 3 Bayfii quorum M:
Bayfii quorum H A

Tarbes and Condom; and at the royal court by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Cardinal of Guise and the Chancellor of France on the advice of Jean de Gagni the theologian and Lazare de Baif the shelter of whose homes I enjoyed for several months at court. However, I preferred this less important post here that (as I have said) I might be as far as possible from my country's ills. Finally this year when I heard of the conclusion of peace with England I again formed the resolve to return home and satisfy everybody as far as was in my power.

In that earlier three years, then, I had both done and said much which I understand was done wickedly, wrongly and

homines oblivione perpetua sepultum iri quemadmodum apud Deum sepulta esse arbitror et spero. Quorum rationem mihi nunc non putavi reddendam neque singillatim reddere possum neque dubito tamen quin multo plura sint quam hic a me perscribantur. Novem vero posteriores annos ita egi et cum his hominibus in luce Christiani orbis ut nec fingendis criminibus locum me praeuisse opiner cuius rei testem neminem fugio qui me familiariter novisse poterat. Qui fuerunt multi et illustres homines, quorum non solum familiaritate sed etiam convictu sum usus quadriennio

1 quemadmodum A: quem admodum M H 3 singillatim M:
sigillatim H A

irreligiously - partly through ignorance, partly through carelessness, the fire of my youthful age and evil communications; but when in the year 1544 I had done penance for these sins I thought men would bury the memory of them for ever as I believe and hope God has already done. I did not think I should now have to answer for these acts nor can I do so severally and yet I doubt not that their number exceeds what I have here written. But the later nine years I have spent in such a manner and with such company in the light of Christendom that I imagine I have given no opportunity even for fabricated charges. Of this I reject no witness who could have known me closely - and these were many and eminent gentlemen, whose acquaintance and even hospitality I

proximo antequam in Lusitaniam venissem. Ita enim vixi ut pauci admodum eo tempore me notiores fuerunt Lutetiae.

o/ De mea vita et ~~gr~~atione postquam in Lusitaniam veni nullum testem reicio. Quod si novem annorum inoffensus cursus perpetuo vitae tenore non satis magnum mutatae vitae indicium habet, si regressus ad Ecclesiam et venia impetrata apud tales homines non valent, nescio quis portus est ad quem miseri confugere possunt. Ego vero confiteor me graviter in Deum atque homines peccasse, scandalo fuisse Ecclesiae Dei, idemque testor me cum saepe alias tum promulgatis indulgentiis peccata mea confessum esse, ab eo

10 peccata mea HB: peccata me M H A

enjoyed for the last four years before I came to Portugal. For I lived such a life that at that time very few were better known at Paris than I.

Of my life and conversation since I came to Portugal I reject no witness. But if the harmless passage of nine years in the unbroken tenor of life is not a sufficiently great indication of a changed life, if return to the Church and a pardon obtained count for nought with such men, I know not to what harbour of refuge sinners can fly. Indeed I confess I have sinned grievously against God and against men, and I have been as a scandal to the Church of God; and yet I claim that I have confessed my sins many a time and especially when indulgences were

tempore semper cavisse ne quem ulla in re quoad possem offenderem et si quid in praesentia omiserim id me infirmitate memoriae non alia ratione fecisse. Protestor item me nullam poenam etiam nunc recusare, donec omnibus quod in me est satisfaciam. Sin minus mihi hic in aliqua re creditur illud a vestra humanitate peto ut hic de Lusitanicis peccatis statuatis quod vobis visum fuerit severissima iudicii forma, de his quae in Gallia a me admissa dicuntur vinctus in Galliam mittar ut illic ubi asper^T~~ime~~ iudicia exercentur dem poenas: neque enim ego meis testibus uti possum neque adversariorum hic testimonia refutare neque notos homines

7 iudicii A: indicii M H

announced, and since that time have always taken pains not to offend any man in any respect so far as I could, and if in the present I have passed over aught I have done so through weakness of memory and for no other reason. Moreover I solemnly assert that even now I refuse no penance as long as I shall, so far as in my power, give satisfaction to everybody. But if here I find small credence on any issue, I seek from your kindness this favour - that here in respect of the Portuguese sins you should determine what seems good to you in the strictest manner of judgment, and that in respect of my alleged faults committed in France I should be sent to France in chains to pay the penalty there where justice is administered most harshly; for here I can neither make use of my witnesses nor refute my adversaries' evidence nor cite well-known

allegare; multa praeterea hic criminosa esse video quae in Gallia ne suspicionem quidem criminis habent.

In Britannia vero quae acta sunt non solum deprecor sed etiam ea detestor atque abominor. Vos autem viri doctissimi interim hoc expendere velim quam infirma sit iuventa non solum suapte natura sed etiam provocata contumeliis, ambitione inflammata, contentione accensa, callidorum hominum insidiis circumventa, doctorum hominum opinione et suasu impulsa, irarum impetu in praeceps plerumque proruens, insidiis Diaboli impedita, consuetudine pravorum hominum corrupta, illecebris capta.

9 impedita A HB: impetita M H

persons. Besides here I perceive that many acts are regarded as criminal which in France are free even from the suspicion of crime.

But what took place in Britain I not only disapprove, I also hate and abhor. But, my learned judges, I would that ye in the meantime would weigh in the balance the nature of youth. How weak is youth of its own nature! how apt to be roused by insults, set aflame by ambition, fired by opposition! how deceived by the snares of the crafty, how incited by the advice and opinion of the learned! how often swept on in headlong rush by the fury of the passions! how beset by the ambushes of the Devil! how corrupted by evil communications! how much a slave to pleasure's lures!

De me vero sic habetote, quae mihi causa fuerat ad lapsa praecipua, eadem fuit ad odium praeteritae vitae potissima. Nam cum ab ineunte aetate in grammatica rhetorica et dialectica male institutum me intellexissem, statui mihi omnium opiniones audiendas, in nullius magistri verba iurandum. Ea ratio me provexit longius ut nihil non audiendum in quavis re putarem. Itaque cum Lutherani, freti adversariorum ignorantia, sese ostentarent, Christiani homines quae ipsi firma et solida putarent in disquisitionem vocari moleste ferrent, et conviciarentur magis quam responderent, factum est plerumque ut infirmiorum animi

1 vero sic M A: vero sit H 6 re putarem H A: reputarem M

But in my case be ye persuaded that the principal cause of my fall was actually the most powerful influence that led me to hate my past life. For when I had grasped the fact that from my earliest years I had been badly educated in grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, I resolved that I must listen to the opinions of all, but swear allegiance to no master. This consideration took me further so that I thought I should listen to any argument on any subject. Accordingly when the Lutherans, relying on their opponents' ignorance, advertised themselves, and Christian men, brooking ill the public questioning of what they considered stable and sound beliefs, answered by abuse rather than by argument, it generally happened that the minds of the weaker brethren would waver because they believed that it was from lack of proofs that

nutarent quod inopia probationum eos ad convicia descendere crederent et ob eandem causam suos sensus non auderent omnibus nudare; dum auxilium petere non audebant in luto haerebant.

Postquam vero in Galliam veni aequae facile veritatem auditam arripui nec ulla in re unquam pertinaciter egi. Me autem non esse pertinacem in ulla re cum omnes alii Conimbricae tum mei discipuli sciunt a quibus facile me admoneri patior siquid interpretando errarim aut siquid posterius occurrit de aliqua re quod melius dici possit sine ulla ambitione detego meum errorem. Neque quicquam in quo dubito ulla ex parte me plane profiteor scire.

1 nutarent H A HB: nutarent M10 quicquam scripsi: quicque H A

the orthodox resorted to abuse and for the same reason they did not venture to disclose their feelings to everybody: so, not daring to seek help, they were bogged in the mire.

But after I came to France I grasped with equal readiness the truth when I heard it, and in no matter did I ever behave stubbornly. That this is true is known to all at Coimbra and in particular to my pupils from whom I readily accept kindly reproof if ever I have made a mistake in exposition, or if afterwards on any topic anything which could be better said crops up I lay aside vanity and reveal my error. Nor do I absolutely assert my knowledge of any matter wherein I harbour any doubts.

Eorum vero quae superius explicavi siquid pro explorato tenuissem non erat cur ex Anglia discederem ubi nec opes nec honores nec securitas mihi defutura erant. Non recusassem ire in Daniam, quo me vocabat in spem maximae hereditatis maior amita mea, mulier orba propecta aetate et notae opulentiae omnibus exteris qui mare Balthicum navigant: non toties infelici eventu reditum in patriam tentassem: non temporibus turbulentis redire recusassem: non ita rationes meas constituissem ut, dum commodum revertendi tempus expecto, nullis certis sedibus haeream, aut certe me munissem litteris pontificiis potius quam simplici indulgentia,

4 amita H A: amica M

But with regard to the issues detailed above if I had held any of them as settled for certain, I had no reason to leave England where I would have lacked neither wealth nor honours nor safety. In that event I would not have refused to go to Denmark, where I was invited as the intended successor to a very large inheritance by my great-great-aunt, a childless widow of advanced age, whose wealth is no secret to all foreigners who sail the Baltic sea: I would not so oft with unfortunate issue have attempted return to my native land: I would not have refused to return in troublous times: I would not have so settled my affairs that I had no fixed place of abode while awaiting a suitable time for my return, or at least I would have protected myself with papal letters rather than with a simple indulgence, whose force

cuius ego etiam nunc vim eam esse volo ut meae conscientiae in solatium prosit. Quod reliquum est totum misericordiae Dei ac vestrae committo neque ullam poenam qua vos me dignum statueritis recuso. Illud tantum vos oro ne hominem qui nullam satisfaciendi rationem hactenus omisit quod in se fuit potius perditum quam servatum velit.

Orationes ad Sanctos veteri more semper probavi quibus vel oramus ut intercedant pro nobis vel per memoriam eorum aliquid a Deo petimus; multae novae mihi visae sunt superstitiosae ut quae a Sanctis simpliciter petunt ea quae a Deo peti debent, quae

2 reliquum M A: reliquum H

even now I only invoke as an aid in assuaging my conscience. All the rest I entrust to God's mercy and yours and I refuse no penance of which you shall judge me worthy. Only I beg you not to prefer to destroy rather than to preserve a man who up to the present, so far as was in his power, has not neglected any means of giving satisfaction.

Prayers to the Saints I always approved if according to old custom when we either pray that they may intercede for us or by their memory ask somewhat from God; many innovations appeared to me superstitious as prayers which seek directly from the Saints what ought to be sought from God, and prayers which are supposed

putantur ad certa mala afferre remedium ut adversus vulnera febri⁴

¶Picturas varias in Anglia vidi quas in Gallia interdum explicabam expetentibus e quibus aliquas in Scotiam delatas vidi per Episcopum Sancti Davidis Anglum cum esset legatus in Scotia quae nonnullos commoverunt.

¶Picturae comparatio pontificis cum Christo qui non ingreditur per ostium⁴ omnis arbor non faciens fructum⁴ resurrectio Christi in qua religiosi omnium ordinum custodiunt sepulchrum ac dolent ubi senserunt Christum surrexisse.

(See the Commentary.)

to supply healing for definite ills e.g. against wounds or fever.

Various pictures⁴ I saw in England which I used sometimes to explain in France to those who desired this. Some of these pictures I saw when they were brought into Scotland by the English Bishop of St. David's when he was Ambassador in Scotland. Such pictures disturbed not a few.

"e.g. The comparison of a picture of the Pope with the Christ who does not enter by the door: every tree not bringing forth fruit: the Resurrection of Christ in which the religious of all Orders guard the sepulchre and lament when they have perceived that Christ has risen.

De imaginibus probavi id quod tum vidi fieri in Anglia ut hae quae superstitiose colebantur (velut imago crucifixi quae vultu risus et alios affectus fingebat et imago darvel gadezim) tollerentur, caeterae permanerent, utque quater in anno ad minimum sacerdos interpretaretur populo quid sibi vellent imagines ac caeterae caerimoniae quae videbantur populo necessariae.

De Iudaismo nunquam cogitavi.

Anabaptistarum quae sit secta adhuc ignoro.

Epicureos in omni conventu semper detestatus sum nec verbo solum sed etiam carminibus interdum.

Libros nec habeo ullos nisi vetustos, nec aliud est de quo diligentius admoneo scholasticos in omni loco quam ut a lectione

2 superstitiose F H A: superstitiosae M 3 darvel gadezim F H A:
darvelgadeiro M

With regard to images I approved what I then saw being done in England - viz. that those which were being worshipped superstitiously (such as an image of the Crucified, the countenance of which used to display laughter and other emotions and the image of darvel gadezim) should be removed, while the rest should remain, and that quarterly at least the priest should explain to the people the significance of images and the other ceremonies which the people keep considering as essential.

Of Judaism I have never thought.

As to the Anabaptists, I am still ignorant of the nature of this sect.

Epicureans I have always hated in every assembly and that

novorum librorum in omni genere doctrinae absistant donec veteres plane perlegerint.

Babylonem quae describitur in Apocalypsi aliquando Romanam putavi, ac eam etiam designari per mulierem; verum cum mecum reputarem in prophetis de re futura omnem interpretationem esse periculosam, quippe cum maxima pars tum demum intellegatur ubi eventus est manifestus, statim in ea re suspendi sententiam ac facile passus sum me cum multis id ignorare.

Georg. Buchanan mea manu omnia scripsi et signavi. 4

9 mea manu A HB: me manu F M H

not only in speech, but sometimes even in my verse.

As to books, I possess only such as are old and everywhere I am most careful to recommend to scholars that in every field of learning they should refrain from reading modern books until they have thoroughly perused the older writers.

The Babylon which is described in the Apocalypse I at one time imagined to be Rome, and thought the same city was indicated by the woman; but when I took counsel with myself that all interpretation of the prophets in respect of future events is perilous, inasmuch as the greatest part of such prophecies is only understood when the event is manifest, I at once suspended my judgment in this matter and readily admitted that herein I was as ignorant as the multitude.

I have written all with my own hand and sign myself

GEORGE BUCHANAN

THE SECOND DEFENCE

Tria fere tempora esse video in quibus omnis mea versatur accusatio. Primum a posteris incipit annis quibus in Scotia fui usque ad id tempus quo ex Anglia in Galliam veni ac per aliquot menses legendo et audiendo quoad potui animum repurgavi ac deinde communicavi quod fuit circiter quindecim dies post pascha anno Domini 1541 si recte memini. Hoc ego totum tempus quoad memoria suppetebat vobis ante descripsi. Multa autem ut fateor in Anglia et Scotia a me parum pie dicta et facta sunt: nam in Gallia nihil memini nisi siquis me rogaverit de rebus Anglicis forte responderim.

I perceive there are approximately three periods with which alone my indictment is concerned. The first period, beginning from my later years in Scotland, continues up to the time when I came from England to France and for several months by reading and listening cleansed my mind anew as far as I could and then communicated - which was about fifteen days after Easter A.D. 1541, if I remember rightly. All this period I have depicted to you already so far as my memory would avail. Indeed, as I admit, many words and deeds of mine in England and Scotland were irreligious: in France, however, I remember nothing of this sort except that I might perhaps make a reply if someone questioned me on English affairs.

Non dubito tamen quin ad vos in rebus Scoticis multo acerbiora vero delata sint omnia praesertim cum gravissimis factionibus absens oppugnarer. Praeterea cum ego e familia non adeo opulenta sim sed certe nota et factiosa, non solum mea privata odia in me incubuerunt sed ab inimicis etiam familiae communibus oppugnabar. Quanto autem odio prosequeretur meam familiam eius familia qui nunc est prorex in Scotia, quoties iudiciis capitalibus, quoties ferro totam nostram gentem petiverint nemini opinor ignotum est qui res Scoticas noverit. Accedebat commune nominis Lutherani odium quod secundis populi auribus summam fingendi licentiam hominibus invidis et malitiosis dabat.

2 delata sint HB: delata sunt M H A praesertim M A
 praesertim H

Yet I have no doubt but that in Scottish matters your informers have always strained the truth to the harsher side, especially as I in my absence was assailed by the most important factions. Moreover, as I belong to a family not particularly rich, but at least well-known in party strife, it was not only my personal quarrels that burdened me, but I was also assailed by the common enemies of my family. How bitter the hatred that has pursued my family on the part of his family who now is Regent in Scotland, how oft by capital trials, how oft by the sword they have attacked the whole of our clan - who that knows Scottish history is ignorant of these things? In addition, the common hatred of the name of Lutheran used to afford envy and malice the fullest freedom of invention for the people's open ears.

Haec ego non ideo dico ut me purgem sed nequis vestrum admiretur si eadem quae ego facta fateor aut paulo aliter aut etiam asperius facta ab aliis dicantur, praesertim cum hi quibus negotium datur ut inquirent de talibus rebus eorum testimonia recipiunt libentissime qui criminosissime et acerbissime loquantur; neque enim iudicum sed accusatorum partes sibi demandatas intellegunt. Itaque dum crimina omnia sine discrimine libenter arripiunt, malunt alienae salutis periculum creare quam ipsi videri in quaerendo parum diligentes fuisse. Quae omnia refutandi mihi in praesentia non video locum sed odio invidiae et malignis rumoribus praebendae sunt aures apud eos auditores, qui quid sit veri in re ipsa nosse non possunt.

2 quae M A: quae H ll qui quid M A: quid quid H

I say this not to excuse myself but that none of you may feel surprise if the very acts I admit are alleged by others to have occurred in a somewhat different way or even in a more extreme manner, especially as those to whom is assigned the task of inquiring into such charges receive with the greatest readiness the evidence of those who speak in the most calumnious and bitter tone; for they understand that they are expected to play the part of prosecutors, not of judges. And so, while gladly and indiscriminately they amass all charges, they prefer to jeopardize another's safety than themselves appear too remiss in the enquiry. I see no present opportunity of refuting all these charges, but those hearers who cannot know the truth of the case must lend their ears to hatred, envy and malicious rumours.

Ut in Galliam veni omne tempus quoad potui in excutiendo vero posui usque ad pascha proximum: et cum id quod contionibus et libris legendis nondum satis explicatum putabam ad And. Goveanum retulissem, ille partim negotiis impeditus, partim disputando et docendo rem protraxisset in xv. diem post pascha, eo tempore liber omni scrupulo communicavi.

Proximum fuit tempus ab eo paschate donec in Lusitaniam veni, quo tempore nullam occasionem satisfaciendi Deo et hominibus quoad eius fieri potuit omisi. Nam quod meae conscientiae consolandae debebam id omnibus modis executus sum, legendo audiendo, Ecclesiae omni ex parte parendo, et publicam et privatam absolutionem

9 fieri M A: freri H

When I came to France I spent all my time as far as I could in searching out the truth up to the next Easter: and when what I still thought was insufficiently explained by my attendance at meetings and reading of books had been referred by me to André de Gouveia, and he (being hindered partly by business, partly by public debating and teaching) had postponed the matter till fifteen days past Easter, at that time I, freed from every scruple, partook of the Communion.

The next period was from that Easter until I came to Portugal. During this period I missed no opportunity of satisfying God and men so far as was in my power. For in every way I performed my duty for the quieting of my conscience, by reading and listening, by obeying the Church in every ~~thing~~ and by receiving absolution,



accipiendo. Quod vero ad homines attinet, cum in Gallia neminem me offendisse dicto vel facto mihi conscius essem, non eram de ea re sollicitus, Scotis vero quos publice offenderam ut satisfacerem publice semper id unice cupienti occasio est erepta de manibus. Quos vero si ita convenire familiariter potui ut meam voluntatem exponerem, eis abunde satisfactum puto.

Hoc totum tempus prope sex annorum fuit, quo partim Burdegalae, partim Lutetiae fui, et cum honoratissimo quoque qui in his locis erant familiariter vixi; neque reor me in offensionem cuiusquam incurrisse.

ll p.51

/publicam M H: publicum A 2 offendisse M: ostendisse H A

5 si supplevi: om. M H A

both public and private. But as regards men I was not worried since I was quite unconscious of having by word or deed offended anyone in France. To the Scots indeed to whom I had been a public scandal I always particularly desired to give public satisfaction; but I have been robbed of the chance. But if I could meet them on friendly terms so that I might display my good-will, I think they would be fully satisfied.

This period as a whole was almost six years, which I spent partly at Bordeaux, partly at Paris, and in both places I lived on familiar terms with the most eminent men and I do not think I fell into disfavour with any man.

Tamen, cum in tanta malignitate hominum difficile sit invidiam, difficillimum linguas malas effugere, video quod in Gallia mihi facillimum foret idem hic mihi fore difficillimum, ut cum testibus ignotis confligam, apud eos qui nec me nec illos nosse potuerunt; inter mores longe diversissimos cum occulta invidia pugnandum. Itaque, quod antea petii nec iniquum esse nec novum existimo, id etiam nunc peto ut apud severissimos Galliae iudices, ubi ius severissime dicitur, liceat mihi cum illis experiri. Quod si fiat, facile polliceor non magis mihi nunc ausuros molestiam exhibere quam per tot annos in Gallia praebere ausi sunt.

However, as human malice is such that it is difficult to escape envy, and most difficult to avoid evil tongues, I perceive that a task which would be most easy in France is here most difficult for me - viz. that I should struggle against undisclosed witnesses before judges who could have known neither me nor them; in a widely different cultural environment I must fight hidden envy. Therefore I repeat even now my former request and I consider it neither unfair nor unprecedented - viz. that I should be allowed to take my chance with these informers before the strictest judges of France, that country of strict justice. Should this happen, I readily warrant that they would no more dare to cause me trouble than they did during the many years I spent in France.

Tertium est tempus hoc quadriennium prope quod in Lusitania sum. De quo hoc tantum dico: quoad per valetudinem licuit, meam semper domum, meum cubiculum noctes et dies patuisse; nihil clausi, nihil celati apud me fuit, neque dicta neque facta obscura sunt; de quibus rebus facile vos cognoscere potestis praesertim cum neminem testem recusem.

Quam vero libere et clare haec nunc apud vos de hoc tertio tempore pronuntio, tam libere apud Gallos iudices de tempore quo in Gallia fui pronuntiarem; neque enim qui clam nunc me oppugnant (si qui sunt) suam impudentiam prodere auderent ubi facile redargui possent palam.

The third period is this of nigh four years that I have spent in Portugal. Of this I say only so much: so far as health permitted, my house, even my bedchamber, has always been open night and day: with me there has been nothing hidden, nothing concealed, and neither my words nor my deeds have been in darkness; on these matters you can easily get information especially as I bar no witness.

But as frankly and clearly I make this declaration now before you with respect to this third period so frankly would I make my declaration before French judges with respect to the time I spent in France; nor would those (if such there are) who now assail me in the dark dare to expose their shamelessness where they could readily be refuted in open court.

COMMENTARY

THE FIRST DEFENCE

1. diocesis Glasguensis. Buchanan was born by his own account 'in Levinia Scotiae provincia ... ad Blanum amnem' (Vita), or, as he puts it in his First Examination in 'the County of Lenos,¹ and the parish of Quiller'¹ (i.e. Killearn, as the Portuguese notary caught the word).

The exact place of birth was a cottage near the river Blane close to Killearn, now in Stirlingshire but in Buchanan's day in Lennox (i.e. Dunbartonshire).

In the First Examination Buchanan also states that 'he would be about forty-five years of age, a little more or less ... and that he has two brothers living and three sisters'.²

1. anno ... decreta esset. This persecution was possibly partly due to the influence of Mary of Lorraine,³ whom James V had married in 1538. For a discussion of its extent see Appendix 2.

¹So. H; perhaps we should read 'Lenox' and 'Quilarn', as suggested by Hume Brown in M.

²For Buchanan's family see Appendix 1. He was now 44 years of age.

³Suggested by G. Neilson (G. Q. S. p. 299). Cf. also Knox's History (Laing i. 61). Buchanan in his history mentions this persecution immediately after noticing James's second marriage (xiv. 277d).

1. biennium fere ante. This suggests that the dispute took place in 1536 or 1537, but as it preceded the writing of the Somnium, the date of which is apparently 1535 (see below) I think that here Buchanan's memory has failed him. The true interval may be just over three years, if we date the dispute late in 1535.¹ Buchanan was at the time 'in the country with the Earl of Cassilis'² (dedicatory epistle to the Franciscanus).

1. disputatio haereses. 'Asked what was the form of tribunal about which he argued with the Franciscan friar, of which he speaks in his Confession; he said that it appeared to him to be unjust to condemn men upon the evidence of their enemies, without giving them an opportunity of contradicting their enemies' testimony; and that this was the form of tribunal about which he had argued'. (Fourth Examination).

The identity of the Franciscan cannot be determined.

As the procedure condemned was the customary procedure of the Inquisition, Buchanan appears to give a sly hit to his judges.

But Knox's remarks on heresy trials in Scotland are in the same vein. 'Whosoevir wald delaite any of heresye, he was heard: no respect nor consideratioun had what mynd the

¹Hume Brown erroneously dated this discussion in the year 1539 (article in the Scottish Review 1893).

²The seat of the Kennedies was Cassilis House, near Cassilis in Ayrshire.

the delatour bayre to the persone delated; whosoever war produced for witnesses war admitted, how suspitious and infame that ever thei ware; yf two or thre had provin any poynt, that by there law was holden heresy, that was ane heretick' (Laing i.81).

1. cum ... venire. Buchanan appears to have left France and returned to Scotland in 1535 (Hume Brown p. 86).

1. mercatoris cuiusdam. Merchants and mariners, especially those of Dundee and Leith, were from their intercourse with the Continent particularly liable to adopt unorthodox views (see Laing i.61).

2. inimici capitales sui. In the procedure of the Inquisition mortal enmity was the only disability that could secure the rejection of a witness hostile to the prisoner. Proof of mortal enmity was, however, difficult and several witnesses were necessary to the validity of such proof (Lea ii.538ff.).

2. epigramma ... transtuli. A reference to the Somnium¹ which is based on Dunbar's poem 'How Dunbar was desyrit to be ane frier'. The Somnium was written in 1535, the year Buchanan left France and

¹Fratres Fraterrimi xxxiv. The poem is called 'an Elegy' in the dedication to the Franciscanus and is described in the Vita as 'eligidion per otium ab eo fusum'.

approximately thirty years before 1564 (dedicatory letter to the Franciscanus).

2. sententiam ... rettuli. 'He said ... that ... he also made some others¹ in which, under the figure of a dream, he related how St. Francis had appeared to him, and told him to take the Habit of his Order, and he replied that he could not do so, because his Order was so very ascetic, with fasts and scourgings, and that he would rather be of the Order of the Bishops, because there are more saints in the Churches who were Bishops than who were Friars²; and that the Friars took offence at this, and preached against those who said evil of the Religious Orders; and that one of them who preached³ would never more speak to him'. (First Examination).

3. crimen coniurationis. The fuller account in the Vita states that after the death of Queen Madeleine de Valois (June 1537) 'Subsecutae sunt in aula suspiciones adversus quosdam e nobilitate qui contra regem coniurasse dicebantur'. The reference is to the conspiracy of the Master of Forbes, executed July 1538 on

¹Some words equivalent to 'by order of the King of Scotland' are crossed out (Henriques' note).

²This summary of the Somnium ignores vv. 19-28, the most objectionable from the Franciscan standpoint.

³Possibly the disputant previously referred to.

the charge of having planned to shoot the King at Aberdeen.

(As a matter of fact, he was arrested in June 1536, not in 1537 as one would gather from the Vita.) Cf. the fuller references by Buchanan in the dedicatory epistle to the Franciscanus and Hist. xiv. 53.

3. multa scire Franciscanos. The same allegation is repeated in the Vita and in the dedicatory epistle to the Franciscanus. It was also made previously in the First Examination. There seems no reason to believe that it was true.

Buchanan apparently considered the Master of Forbes innocent of the charges brought against him and a victim of calumny (Hist. xvii. 334b).

3. iratus illis. While the fact does not necessarily disprove Buchanan's story, it should be noted that James V's official attitude towards the Franciscans (especially the Observantines) was always favourable.

See the following letters:-

James V to Frederick of Denmark - Dec. 25, 1532 Tynninghame MS.

(Calendar p. 126)

James V to the Pope - Sept. 16, 1534) From the Royal Letter Book
do. - Apr. 9, 1536) (1526 - 48) from the
Cuninghame of Caprinton
Collection, pp. 29 and 81

These sources I have been able to consult in the Register House, Edinburgh.

3. cum non ignoraret. The same account is given in the First Examination, but the hitherto generally accepted text of the Vita runs 'rex ... ignarus offensionis, quae ei (i.e. Buchanan) cum Franciscanis esset'. The present passage consequently confirms the emendation suggested by Dr. Irving - i.e. 'gnarus' in place of 'ignarus'.

3. Carmen. This poem is the uncompleted version of the Franciscanus, as appears from what follows as well as from the First Examination. The date of its composition in its earliest form is thus 1537 or 1538, more probably the latter year. Previously Buchanan wrote the Palinodes¹ referred to in the Vita as a 'poem short but capable of a double sense'. This satisfied neither party, and to please the King at least the Franciscanus was written (see its dedicatory letter).

Before the Inquisition Buchanan suppresses all mention of the Palinodes, being naturally desirous to minimise his offences. He could not deny the Franciscanus, and did not wish to deny the Somnium as it was a comparatively slight offence, and to some extent explained and excused his later offences; but he did not wish to admit anything further.

¹Fratres Fraterrimi xxxv, xxxvi - possibly two halves of a single poem. The date of composition seems to be 1536 or 1537.

3. nihil ... descivissent. So earlier 'which verses he has no recollection of now, neither has he them in his possession, and that the sense of them was to scourge those Friars who did not fulfil the precepts of their old Rule' (First Examination), and later 'Examined upon the article of his Confession in which he says that the Religious of the present day are dissolute and have departed from the Rules of their predecessors, asked if he meant that to apply to all the Religious, or only to some; he said that he did not mean that it applied to all of them, as he had already protested in his Confession,¹ and that, therefore, he had never thought badly of the Religious Orders'. (Fourth Examination).

In taking up this position Buchanan was on strong ground, as the most orthodox Catholics had often censured the decay and degeneration of all the Orders, the Franciscans among others. See the impressive mass of evidence collected by G. G. Coulton.²

This limitation of Buchanan's satire to the degenerate Franciscans of his own day applies to the Franciscanus in general, though in its finished version at least he also attacks Catholic doctrine. But the Palinodes include a direct and scurrilous assault on St. Francis himself - another reason why Buchanan ignores these poems here.

¹Buchanan refers to his praise of the Bernardines and Eligians (p. 14).

²Coulton ii. Chaps. 26-29, iii. Chap. 23 (with related notes) supply a catena of complaints. For other attacks on the Scottish Franciscans see Knox's History (Laing ii. 72ff.).

4. partem eius. The fact that the Franciscanus was incomplete has not previously been mentioned, but is borne out by Buchanan's later statements in its dedicatory epistle and in the Vita when he had no possible motive for concealing the truth. How much of the poem was written in 1538 and how much after Buchanan's return to Scotland in 1561 is hard to determine (but see below p. 99).

4. neque ... accepit. Buchanan himself had in 1550 no copy in his possession as is definitely mentioned by Thomas Smeaton (see p.xliv). Perhaps he had prudently destroyed it betimes!

4. amicam ... nobilem. This fair enemy of Buchanan is a new figure in his biography. Hume Brown (SR, April 1893) was unable to identify her; but a later passage makes it clear that she was Lady Lochleven,¹ née Margaret Erskine, sister of the Regent Mar and mother by James V of the Regent Moray, the 'bastard son' referred to in the Second Examination. Strange irony of fate that at this juncture of his life one of Buchanan's most dangerous enemies should be the mother of him who was to become his ideal ruler!

¹Familiar to readers of The Abbot.

4. maxime ... potentem. Her influence was shown in more serious ways than the payments 'L.L' received from the Treasurer's Accounts.¹ The Introduction to Vol. VI of these accounts traces the negotiations for James V's marriage, and remarks (referring to the year 1536) 'James was in love with Margaret Erskine, the daughter of that Lord Erskine who ... was one of his ambassadors. She had been his mistress for some years,² and notwithstanding that she was the wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven he suddenly resolved to marry her, and to that end ultimately got a divorce granted by the local authority, and had the audacity to ask the Pope to sanction the divorce and grant him a dispensation to marry. Public opinion had in the meantime expressed itself very strongly on the subject of the Erskine marriage. James felt that it was too much for him, ... and once more turned his thoughts towards Marie de Bourbon.' (TA vi. pp. lix-lx)

4. sua sponte iratam. No definite cause for the lady's anger is mentioned by Buchanan, but it may be shrewdly suspected that the poet with his usual imprudent frankness had let slip some witty gibe on the impropriety of the 'Erskine marriage.' How

¹e.g. Sept. 21 (1539) Item, to the Lady Lochleven, in contentatioune of ane Pensioun awing to hir yerelie, be ane Precept

vj^clxvj lib. xiiij s̃ iiiij d̃
(vii. 251)

See also references in the years 1533, 1534, 1536 (vi. 96, 205, 289).

²From 1530 at least.

little Buchanan was disposed to flatter a royal mistress may be gathered from his epitaph on Diane de Poitiers (Ep. ii. 28).

5. *Rumores varios.* Asked what were these reports, Buchanan replied 'that being with some one else in Scotland, which other man read, in the Ecclesiastes of Solomon, about so many collecting riches for others,¹ the reader began to laugh and called his, Master George's, attention to the place where he was reading, because he called to mind sundry individuals to whom the words of Solomon were applicable; and that the lady in question, seeing them reading and laughing, presumed that they were reading either some Lutheran books or the New Testament, which the lower orders take to be only read by Lutherans;² and for this it was that she spread abroad that they were Lutherans.' (Fourth Examination)

¹Ecclesiastes v. 13-vi. 2.

²Not without some reason. Cf. the remark of George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, at the time of the persecution of 1539 'I thanke God that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was!' (Calderwood i. 126 quoting from Foxe; see Foxe ii. 707) Many priests 'novitatis nomine offensi' thought that the New Testament had been lately composed by Luther, and so demanded the Old Testament! (Hist. xv. 291c)

5. rex aberat in Gallia. The king's absence in France (to complete arrangements) was from September 1536 to May 1537, between which dates this incident must have occurred. Who the bishop was cannot be determined.

5. Per idem tempus. Buchanan, as in the Vita, is apt to be distressingly vague in his chronology, but from the Second Examination (quoted below) the year may be taken as 1538.

5. amicus ... actum est. Earlier Buchanan had said that 'on one occasion, in Scotland, some twelve years ago, he went to the house of a friend of his who was very ill, at the point of death, and, as he would not eat meat, he in view of the dangerous state in which his said friend was, and after endeavouring to persuade him to eat the said meat, seeing that he would not, he partook with him of the said meat, the day being one on which the Church prohibits the eating of meat, and this was solely to induce him to eat thereof, and not because he had himself felt or held that, on such days, meat might be eaten'. (Second Examination)

On the general question of delectus ciborum see p. 28.

Health was considered a reasonable cause for disregarding the usual fasts.

5. ad Dominicanos quosdam. Most probably the Dominicans at Stirling, the customary residence of the Court at Easter.

6. in Quadragesima carnibus vesceremur. The date referred to is Lent 1538. In that year Ash Wednesday fell on March 6, Easter on April 21. Later Buchanan under pressure admitted that he had eaten meat also in Lent 1547 and Lent 1550 (see pp. 111). As to the present occasion, when 'asked if his opinion then was that there was no need to obey the precept of the Church which prohibits the eating of meat in Lent; he said, that it appeared to him that he did not sin by eating meat on days when it was prohibited by the Church, because he thought it was not a breach of the Law of God, and that it was no sin to disobey a human law, unless scandal arose therefrom, or injury to our neighbour; and that it appeared to him that no human law was binding on the Conscience, but only ordered or prohibited external works, and this appeared to him, at that time, to be the truth, because, down to then, he had not argued upon the matter'. (Fourth Examination.)

6. auctoritas hominis. It would be interesting to identify this heterodox ex-prior, who so influenced Buchanan at the present juncture (Lent 1538). We know the following facts: - (1) he was a Black Friar; (2) he had been prior of a convent; (3) he was a well-known preacher; (4) he had Lutheran sympathies; (5) at Lent 1538 he was in close touch with the Court - which suggests a connection with Stirling, where the Court spent Easter.

After considering several persons who fulfil at least some of the requirements, I would like to suggest as possibilities two men - Thomas Guilliame (Williams), a Black friar celebrated as a preacher of Lutheran sympathies, who was provincial of the Dominicans of Scotland and John Rough, a man of similar type, and of even more pronounced Reforming views. Rough was born c. 1508, incorporated in St. Leonard's College 1524, entered the Dominican monastery at Stirling c. 1525, and became chaplain to the Earl of Arran c. 1541.¹ When the Earl inclined to the Catholic side, Rough found a refuge in Kyle. After the Cardinal's death he entered St. Andrews Castle where he called Knox to be a preacher. Some time after the fall of the Castle Rough went to England, but was compelled to flee abroad during the Marian persecution. Returning in 1557, he was captured and executed on 22 December.

It should be noted that Buchanan might have been acquainted with Rough at St. Andrews University which he entered only a year later. Rough did not graduate,² but some of those incorporated in St. Leonard's with him determined in 1525 along with George Buchanan. This possible acquaintance at St. Andrews supports my conjecture.

¹These approximate dates are obtained from a comparison of the data afforded by Laing and Foxe.

²Rough's failure to graduate can be explained by his joining the Dominicans in 1525. By their rules Black friars could not graduate in Arts.

6. etiam Christum ... edisse. Of course a reference to the Last Supper. This very point was made by Adam Wallace at his trial (see Foxe's account ii. 717ff. reported by Laing i. Appendix XII).

6. fabula ... paschalis. Judaizing practices were always a serious charge in the Iberian peninsula. For the rumours connected with Buchanan see Appendix 2. The prisoner did not take the charge of Judaism seriously, and later passes over the matter in a sentence (see p. 46). The inquisitors also, after a few inquiries in the Second Examination¹ do not refer to the matter again.

6. hodie primum audivi. The First Defence was written between 21 and 23 September 1550, and as the Passover Lamb was referred to in the examination of the former date, it appears that Buchanan wrote the present part of his defence on the 21st.

¹These inquiries ran thus: - Q. Do you recollect ever having performed any Jewish ceremony? A. No. Q. Did you ever eat the Passover Lamb, in the company of any persons? A. I neither ate it, nor said that it might be eaten; and there are no Jews in Scotland. Q. Do you recollect any persons being burnt in Scotland for eating the Passover Lamb? A. No; nor did I ever hear of such a thing till now. (These particulars I have slightly condensed from the original).

6. ac primum ... Lutheranis. Buchanan must mean that eating meat in Lent 1538 was his first departure from strict orthodoxy in conduct. We know from the Vita that Buchanan came into contact with Lutherans during his second sojourn at Paris from 1525 to 1535; but it was apparently not till after his return to Scotland that he first began to show Lutheran tendencies, and to attack the Church in certain respects. Yet even when this stage was reached Buchanan was not so much a Protestant as a Catholic Reformer.

7. quaestio decreta est. On this persecution of 1539 see Appendix 2.

7. Ego regem. Earlier Buchanan had stated the immediate reason for his appeal to the king. He believed the lady referred to 'had accused him before the Cardinal and the Bishops charged with inquiring into Lutheran matters, the charge being that he ate meat on prohibited days, and argued upon Lutheran matters; and, because the father of the lady¹ had an order from the King for his arrest,² he went to the King, and complained that he had been unjustly accused by the said woman' (Second Examination).

But in the Vita we read nothing of the Erskines, while it is said that Cardinal Betoun had bought Buchanan's life from the king.

¹John, fourth Lord Erskine.

²Henriques translates 'capture'. 'Arrest' is substituted by Hume Brown in M.

This and other references have caused biographers to consider the Cardinal as Buchanan's mortal enemy; but the Lisbon documents render this doubtful, and there is no clear proof of the Cardinal's relentless pursuit of Buchanan. It seems likely that for the scholar's difficulties in 1539 the Erskines were mainly to blame; but Buchanan writing in 1579 would be tempted to ignore this and emphasize the share of the Cardinal - which may have been only secondary.

7. *tribus aulicis*. 'The King ordered his case to be heard by one of his Secretaries, Thomas Esquem,¹ and by one John of Nestam, an ecclesiastic, and by one Thomas Escot, who is now deceased' (Second Examination). Such a tribunal would be prejudiced. Thomas Scot of Petgormo, Justice-Clerk, is mentioned by Knox as an eager persecutor of the Reformers - see the story of his death (Laing i. 69) Thomas Esquem (*sic*) is Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, the King's secretary. He is described by Buchanan as '*Papisticae factioni deditissimus, et Regi ab epistolis*' (*Hist.* xiv. 278c)

7. *nullam ... negarem*. Just the inquisitorial procedure!

¹Henriques (p. vi) makes Esquem = Askew. But for Esquem = Erskine cf. Michel i. 200 where reference is made to '*Patris Assequin ou Haquin*' (Patrick Erskine) as occurring in a French document of the 15th century.

7. a patre eius regi. Sir Thomas Erskine was a distant cousin of Lord Erskine. He was the second son of John Erskine, fourth laird of Dun (grandfather of the reformer), who was great-grandson of John, first of Dun, son of Sir Thomas Erskine of that ilk who was grandfather of the first Lord Erskine, the great-grandfather of the Lord Erskine of 1539.

7. plura ... dixi. Asked the content of his confession to the three examiners, Buchanan said 'he only divulged to them that he had eaten meat on prohibited days, and the rest which he has now stated; and that he confessed to having eaten meat more times than he really had, on account of the threats of his Examiners' (Fourth Examination).

7. apud secretarium regium. This fact, and his return to his lodging next day, were mentioned in the Second Examination. The date of this inquiry is apparently January 1539.

8. bellum ... detecta est. About this time Henry's anti-Papal policy had landed England in a position of dangerous isolation. Pope Paul III had on 17 December 1538 published a Bull of Excommunication, and had sent Cardinal Pole as an envoy to the Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France (who had agreed to a ten years' truce at Nice in June 1538) to try to stop commercial intercourse with England. The conspiracy referred

to is that of Lords Exeter and Montague (executed December 9). While the danger of a Grand Coalition against England never materialized, the Government and the people were not without reason in a state of serious apprehension during the year 1539 as appears indeed from Buchanan's experiences in England. (Constant pp. 273 ff.)

8. Rex Scotiae ... elapsus essem. This account gives new information on Buchanan's flight from Scotland; how far we can rely on it is no doubt arguable. For a discussion of this question see Appendix 2.

9. a Scotis qui ... possunt. The quondam exiles referred to are probably the Douglasses - Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George of Pittendreich - who returned to Scotland on James V's death after a long exile in England. Buchanan, as a Lennox man, would naturally be somewhat critical of the Douglasses. It must be remembered that they (as well as the Hamiltons) had been involved in the conflict that caused the death of John, Earl of Lennox, in 1526.

9. quae ... absit. An understatement since if the Court was at Linlithgow (as it apparently was¹) the Border was over 50 miles distant. But even so Buchanan, who no doubt set off as soon as he got the hint, could be over the Border by noon on the next day.

¹Indicated by the Treasurer's Accounts for January 1539.

9. famulum meum. We know the names of several servants of Buchanan - (1) John Geddy, who was granted an annual pension of £20 in 1577 'for the guid, trew and thankfull service done to our so. (i.e. sovereign) lord in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and utheris lovable works of the said Mr. George's edition' May 8, 1577. Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. f.81, quoted G.Q.S.p.482.

(2) Mr. Young, who was with him in his last days (see the memoirs of James Melville p. 120 - a passage quoted by all the biographers of Buchanan).

(3) John or Adam Reid, the Scottish translator of Buchanan's History. It is not quite clear whether he was a servant of Buchanan or not (see G.Q.S. pp. 46ff.).

It will be noted that all these servants must have been with Buchanan in his later years.

10. fratrem. Patrick Buchanan, for whom see Appendix 1.

10. principio Ianuarii. Later Buchanan wrote 'In the beginning of the year 1539 many suspected of Lutheranism were seized; towards the end of February five were burned; nine recanted; many were exiled. Among the last was George Buchanan who, while his guards were asleep, escaped from the window of his bedroom' (Hist. xiv. 277d).

The dates can be reconciled on the supposition that 'towards the end of February' refers only to the execution of the five, not to the flight of Buchanan, as at first sight might be supposed.

Ruddiman, taking the **opposite** view dated Buchanan's departure to England in March 1539.

10. multum ... retentus. Thomas Randolph referred to Buchanan's experiences thus: - 'how he escapid with great hazard of Life at Godes hand, the Thieves on the Borders, the Plague in the North of England, what Reliefe he found here at a famous Knightes Handes, Sir John Rainsforde,¹ the onlie man that maintaynid him against the Furie of the Papistes' (Letter to Peter Yonge, 15 March 1579). Buchanan's detention as a spy (not altogether unjustified) is a symptom of the excited state of public feeling.

10. sub initium Quadragesimae. Ash Wednesday fell on February 19, so Buchanan's journey to London took him approximately six weeks. This fits in with his emphasis on the delay caused him.

¹Buchanan praised this benefactor warmly in an epitaph (Ep.ii.24). It is evident that Sir John Raynsford was an Essex magnate (see Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, for the years about 1539). Raynsford wrote Cromwell in 1538 asking for the White Friars at Ipswich, or, failing that, the Grey Friars in Colchester (L. and P. 1538 II p. 520). Buchanan presumably enjoyed Raynsford's hospitality when he was approaching London.

10. multorum contiones. In the Second Examination, Buchanan referred in general terms to doubts raised in his mind by hearing 'sermons sometimes by Catholics and sometimes by Lutherans, and arguing with learned men upon these things of Luther'. Again 'asked what things were these which the preachers in England preached ... he said that he remembered one of the preachers, who was called Jerome,¹ who was a layman, and his sermon he argued upon the words of St. Paul, ecce nunc tempus acceptabile,² asserting that those who said that Lent was the period more acceptable than any³ other to God were in error, because St. Paul said the same of all the period of Grace; and being asked if he, Master George, so held it, ... he said, yes; but that it appeared to him that his argument did not convince one that there was not, in the period of Grace, one time more acceptable than another, and that, as regarded the time of Lent being more acceptable (to God)⁴ than any other, he had no fixed idea

¹Apparently William Jerome, Rector of Stepney (and thus not a layman), who was burnt as a heretic at Smithfield along with Thomas Garrard and Dr. Robert Barnes on 30 July 1540 just after Cromwell's fall. All had preached Lutheran doctrines, and in 1539 were in favour as was their patron Cromwell to whom incidentally Buchanan appealed for aid (Misc. xiii)

²2 Cor. vi. 2. Henriques reads in his translation haec; in his Portuguese text hecce. A reference to the Vulgate gives the true reading.

³Henriques reads 'an'.

⁴The bracketed phrase, though in Henriques' translation, seems not to be in the original Portuguese.

in his heart; and that he had also heard another preacher, a Catholic, named Stephen, Bishop of Winchester¹ who, in arguing, had said of marriage that it had two objects, prolem et vitationem fornicationis, and that the second was of lesser importance; and before him, another Lutheran, whose name he does not know, had preached that the object of matrimony was the avoiding of fornication' (Fourth Examination).

11. inferius. See pp. 13ff.

11. Multos ... legi. As e.g. 'many books of the Lutheran Sect, which treated de iustificatione,² and other books in which there were many things offensive to the ecclesiastics and the Pope, as in the book the title of which is 'Of the Traders',³ in which

¹Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester 1531-51 when he was deprived for adhering to Catholic doctrine. On Mary's accession he was restored and became Lord Chancellor till his death in 1555. In 1539 he was a member of the 'Henrician' party and engaged in theological discussions with Dr. Barnes. Here Henriques has misunderstood and mistranslated the name.

²See Appendix 5. Henriques reads 'of justificatione', but the original phrase is wholly in Latin.

³A reference to the libellus mercatorum,¹ a tractate in French that appeared anonymously in 1534. A large abstract is given by Sleidan in book ix. of his De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae. He describes the book as 'facetis quidem, sed serius et gravitate conditus'. Neilson rightly recognized the argument of this book in several passages of the Franciscanus e.g. vv. 77, 297, 361, 664, 822, 935.

all the ecclesiastics are called traders, because they sold the Sacraments, and the other things of the Church, because Our Lord drove the dealers out of the Church' (First Examination).

Further questioned, Buchanan said that one of the books he read 'treated of Justification, and the other of Purgatory' (Fourth Examination).

11. pro persona quam gerebam. An allusion to the statement that he was under the guise of a religious refugee a secret agent of the King of Scots.

11. sub Quadragesimam. i.e. about the time Buchanan arrived in London. Lent 1539 was from February 19 to April 6.

11. rumor belli. i.e. of an attack on England by France and/or the Empire. The ambassadors of both powers left England suddenly in February 1539.

11. circiter ... Hollandicas. This refers to the imperial fleet, whose preparations disturbed Henry VIII.

11. tota ... erat. This refers to the rallying of the people to the defence of the country, construction of fortifications, general musters, etc. - not to a popular rising - a meaning the Latin might possibly bear. The commotion died down in May.

(Constant p.277).

11. iter in Germaniam. Though, at this moment, the Emperor was a potential enemy of Henry VIII, the country at large considered France, the traditional rival of England, as the more serious menace, and there was less hostility to Germany. Charles V by virtue of the Netherlands had close commercial relations with England; thus war with the Empire was unpopular with the mercantile classes (Constant pp. 119ff.).

11. uni Hiberno. Buchanan's reticence is sufficiently explained by the above-mentioned rivalry of England and France; but he was doubtless also conscious that Germany, not France, was the natural asylum for the Protestant refugee he professed to be. There is no clue by which the Irishman could be identified.

11. mense Augusto. Buchanan gives the length of his stay in England as 'six months' (First Examination), 'five or six months' (Second Examination). If anything, the exact duration of his stay was over six months, as he was in England for most of January apart from the six months February - July; but Buchanan may be supposed to be thinking mainly of his stay in London.

Here no motive is stated for his leaving England. In the Vita on the other hand he attributes his early departure to the uncertainties of the religious situation in England and his own preference for France. This is probably the true cause; Buchanan, still a Catholic at heart, preferred Catholic France to anti-papal England. It was not till long after that he ceased to look on England as the 'auld enemy'. He still held this traditional view in 1558, as is shown by his Epithalamium for Mary and the Dauphin (Silvae iv).

11. Burdegalam deinde. Here the hasty departure from Paris is unexplained, but in the Vita it is attributed to the presence of Cardinal Betoun¹ on an embassy. This account is confirmed by the evidence of Ferrerius² (who, as in 1548 tutor to the late Cardinal's nephews, should be a good authority). Ferrerius adds that Buchanan for some time remained in hiding at Paris. Naturally Buchanan wished to hide these facts from the Inquisition; and surprisingly he was not examined upon them.

¹His presence in Paris in 1539 has been doubted, but is proved by the State Papers of Henry VIII (v.154, 156).

²Quoted in Appendix 2.

12. quod ... soleant. This suggests that Buchanan either hoped to return to Scotland soon or wished to be in a favourable position to gather political news. Probably he desired to give the former impression to his judges, as he always stresses his desire to return to Scotland to clear himself; but I suspect that Buchanan till events seemed to make it impossible preferred France as a residence to any other country. So the second possibility (combined very likely with an invitation from Gouveia) may have determined his choice of Bordeaux.

There was a good deal of trade between Bordeaux and Britain, and references to Scottish ships at Bordeaux are not uncommon in the Treasurer's Accounts (e.g. vi. 231, 261, 262, 452, 462, 463 and vii. 465 - a reference to a visit of the Lion to Bordeaux).

12. Regem ... insulanorum. Here Buchanan's memory seems to have failed him. The expedition to the Isles took place during 1540, not 1539¹.

12. statui ... acciperem. This suggests that Buchanan, still considering himself an agent of James V, half expected recall and presumably reinstatement in his position at Court.

¹The exact date was June (Laing i.82 note).

12. condicionem ... accepi. By this account Buchanan accepted the post in September 1539¹ after he had arrived at Bordeaux and made up his mind to spend the winter there. But the Vita says he was invited to Bordeaux by André de Gouveia. This discrepancy is regarded as serious by Moir Bryce,² but the statements can be reconciled; Gouveia may have proffered Buchanan temporary hospitality when Paris appeared an unsafe retreat, and then, on learning that he intended to stay at least that winter at Bordeaux, have offered him the post in question - which was that of teacher of Grammar to the First (i.e. the highest) Class³ in the Collège de Guyenne, a recently founded school under the direction of André de Gouveia, 'the greatest principal of France' (Montaigne, Essais, I.xxxv.).

12. Illa ... duravit. The winter referred to is 1539-40. Buchanan is not strictly accurate. War did not break out till 1542, nor was it continuous till 1550, as the broken Treaty of Edinburgh gave several months' peace in 1543. Yet he is really not so far wrong after all. Calderwood says, for example 'In the yeere 1541, there was no warre, nor yitt certaine or settled peace betwixt ... England and Scotland' (i.143).

¹We know that Buchanan was on the staff of the College by 1 December 1539 as he was then chosen to write an official welcome to the Emperor when he passed through Bordeaux (Silvae I).

²The Scottish Grey Friars pp. 119ff.

³First Examination and Henriques p.xiii. Previously Buchanan's exact position in the college was unknown (Hume Brown p.110).

13. Haec sunt igitur. These words open a new section of the First Defence. This section which is mainly concerned with theological topics occupies pp. 13 - 31.

13. De libero arbitrio. Luther specifically denied free will and consequently this thorny question crops up frequently in trials for heresy; e.g. one of the articles for which Patrick Hamilton suffered was 'that man has no free will'.¹

13. nisi in scholis. Buchanan probably refers to the discussions at Coimbra which he proceeds to mention. I consider he has in mind some theological disputation.

13. De votis. Here the main practical point at issue was whether monastic vows - of the tria substantialia, poverty, obedience, chastity - were irrevocably binding or not. According to canon law, not even the Pope could absolve a monk from these vows. Cf. Dante's treatment of the question in Paradiso v. (Incidentally Dante condemns Jephthah's action.)

¹This is common to the various accounts.

13. scripto ... Jephthe. The reference is to the dialogue between Jephthah and the priest (Ruddiman, top of p. 10). The date of the Jephthes is probably c.1542 (see p. 116)

14. orationem ... Bucerum. Barthélemy Latomus was at Ste.-Barbe in 1533 and would then be acquainted with Buchanan. He had now retired to Coblenz.

His controversy with the Reformer Martin Bucer took place in 1543-5. The present work (Bartholomaei Latomi adversus Martinum Bucerum defensio - to be found in C.C. vol. 8) was published at Cologne 1545. The fourth section of the treatise 'De coelibatu sacerdotum' is a defence of the Roman Catholic standpoint on that question. Buchanan no doubt refers in particular to the following passage:-

Itaque negas omnia, quae quis voverit, praestanda esse. 'Quid enim, inquis, si quis necem parentum, aut immolationem liberorum voverit?' Quasi vero hoc a me scriptum sit, omnia quae quis voverit, praestanda esse. Equidem ita sentio, non vovenda potius quam non praestanda esse omnia, quae recte et pie praestare possis. Quodsi ea vovisti, quae praestare non possis, aut sine crimine non possis, nulla culpa nisi tua est, qui stulte vovisti; at voti fidem nihilo minus a te requiret Dominus, qui si rectum piusque est, quod vovisti, gratum habebit, dum reddes. Sin autem stulte vovisti, sicut Jephte, qui voti sui causa postea in luctu fuit, teneris nihilo minus, sed iam voti solutionem Dominus gratam habere non potest. Etenim culpa tua factum est, ut quod praestandum erat, sine peccato praestari non possit. Non igitur vovisse, quod non licet, melius est quam quod licet, si voveris, non praestare. Verum quid haec ad coelibatum? Primum enim honesta, imo etiam Deo gratissima est virginitas. (op. cit. p.90).¹

¹Note that Bucer disapproves Jephthah's action. I believe that Buchanan also took this view, and that the priest in the Jephthes expresses the author's own opinions, rather than Jephthah.

14. instituta probavi, mores ... non probavi. A common attitude even among the orthodox. The general complaint was not that the monastic Rules were bad, but that they were so often disregarded. Disciplinarians often complain of degeneracy in their own Order, as Dante makes St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura do in the Paradiso xi, xii.

14. Bernardinos. i.e. the Cistercians, so named after St. Bernard of Clairvaux. A contrast to Buchanan's praise is afforded by a letter of the Portuguese king dated 21 August 1546:-

'From which it follows that in the said monasteries (of Bernardines) the religious inmates are not good men and of good religion, but are ignorant and men of little learning'.
(Original correspondence of Balthazar de Faria, Portuguese

ambassador to the Curia, f. 195 in the Ajuda Library - quoted by Herculano Eng. trans. p. 499.)

14. Eligianos. Buchanan refers to the canons of St. James of the Sword, as the following quotation makes clear:-

The canons of St. James of the Sword have been developed from the canons of St. Eloy, who in 1170 joined the knightly order of St. James of the Sword (founded in 1161) and became its chaplains. Although admission was made difficult yet the congregation spread over numerous houses in Spain, and there were four foundations in Portugal also.' (M. Heimbucher, Die Orden

und Kongregationem der Katholischen Kirche II. 37) Costa

incidentally was confined after his sentence in the Convent of St. Eloy at Lisbon.

14. qui Apostoli vocantur. i.e. the Jesuits. The Rule of this Society received approval from Paul III in 1540. They were introduced into Portugal by Simon Rodrigues, one of Loyola's original companions, and like him a Barbiste. For their influence even at this early date and their alleged share in Buchanan's persecution see pp. xxxv-vi.

15. pueros ... sollicitarent. It is interesting to note that at Ste.-Barbe in 1529 when Buchanan taught there Ignatius Loyola got himself into serious trouble by persistent attempts at proselytism, and narrowly escaped the ignominious punishment of la salle (running the gauntlet)¹. At the present time the College of Arts was losing some prominent students through the enticement of the Jesuits and Buchanan himself remarks that 'sometimes, when at Coimbra, before four or five persons, among whom were Pero Leytão and Professor Manoel Cerveira, he had said that the Apostles did very wrong in persuading young people to enter their Order before they attained their majority, because the result was their subsequent withdrawal, and this more particularly because their Order had not been confirmed by the Pope;² but he had never felt badly disposed towards it' (Second Examination). Similar difficulties arose later at Bordeaux when the Jesuits became established there.³

¹Hume Brown pp. 62ff., Quicherat ch. xx.

²An error; see the previous note.

³Gauilleur pp. 292ff., 327ff.

15. contra ... religionum. At one time children could be dedicated to God by their parents even in infancy. The system is recognized in the Rule of St. Benedict (cap. 59) and 'it was held for several centuries that a child, thus vowed by his parents, had no further choice of his own'. From the twelfth century on this idea was disputed. The whole system was finally rejected as unsatisfactory, as such oblates often proved poor monks. The influence of the reformed and the mendicant Orders¹ hastened the end of the system; and it was practically dead long before the Reformation. (Coulton i. chap. 14 and pp. 326ff.)

15. ad Iacobum Goveanum gymnasiarcham. See Appendix 7.

15. cum ... Io. Pinario. On Pinheiro see Introduction and Appendix 7. The time of this discussion was in Advent (Pinheiro's evidence), and the year (according to Buchanan - Second Examination) was 'about seven or eight years ago' i.e. 1542 or 1543. Of these two, we must choose the former date, as by Advent 1543 Buchanan had left Bordeaux. But it is possible that Advent 1541 is the true date of this discussion, as Pinheiro is said to have become a friar before May 1542².

¹Yet the Friars did sometimes admit children, even against their parents' consent. In 1402 Parliament forbade such admission of children under 14; yet instances of the practice are still found. See cases cited by Coulton (ii. 188ff. and the case in Appendix 13).

²In 1541/^{the first Sunday of} Advent ^{fell} commenced on November 27, in 1542 on December 3rd.

15. Tolosae. Toulouse, where Pinheiro had been studying law with a brother and a cousin, is about 130 miles from Bordeaux.

15. quod ... conspici. Later Buchanan developed this point.

He said that on this occasion 'he, joking with Pinheiro, remarked that his Habit was better than a silken coat, and this he said because he had heard at Bordeaux that the said Friar Joam Pinheiro had become a monk because he was refused a silken coat' (Fifth Examination).

16. antea mihi noti. Pinheiro 'had been a pupil of his' (Second Examination). He appears indeed to have attended the Collège de Guyenne from 1538-40, while Buchanan came on to the Staff in September 1539. His record there probably did not recommend him to Buchanan.

16. Quid ... non memini. Pinheiro's memory, quickened by resentment, was more accurate. According to his account, he

'coming from Toulouse to Bordeaux, lodged at the College where the said de Teives, and Buchanan, and Ruivo¹, a French physician, ate in the chamber of the said Master Joam da Costa, and he, Deponent, also ate with them.² And, because it was Advent, he did not eat meat, according to the Rules of his Order. And the above-mentioned talked to him about nothing else but the ceremonies of the Order and the Church, joking and making fun to such an extent that he, Deponent, could not but believe that they were true Lutherans; the above-mentioned asking him who it was had ordained that meat and other viands should not be eaten? And who it was had ordained Advent and Lent? Saying that it was men; and that Christ

¹Ruivo may not have been the Physician's name; it may mean that he was a red-haired man (Henriques' note).

²Buchanan denied all remembrance of this (Fifth Examination).

had ordained there should be no difference in victuals, alleging that He had commanded the Apostles to eat whatever was put before them.¹ And who but men had instituted the Religious Orders? Asking him why he had given up the ordinary way of living? And putting other questions to him of like nature. This they did so often, that, although he, Deponent, answered them to the best of his ability, at last he lost his temper and, finding that they persisted, more especially Diogo de Teives, da Costa, and the Physician² he, Deponent, requested Master Joam da Costa not to speak any more to him upon these subjects, because he could not with a safe conscience listen to arguments upon such matters. And, Teives having spoken to him, Deponent, about these things, he told him to be careful as to what he said, and to recollect who he was talking to, for a time might come when he would repent of having done so' (Evidence of Pinheiro).

In the Second Examination Buchanan was cross-examined on the points of this evidence seriatim. It ~~was~~ not till he was asked 'If he had enquired of any person why he had given up the ordinary life, because the Religious Orders were the work of men' that he replied as follows:- 'He recollected having argued, in fun, upon these things, with ... Pinheiro ... who, a short time previously, had become a friar, and who he considered to be but little adapted to be a monk,³ which was the reason why he joked him about it; ... and that he cannot call to mind the conversation they had upon this subject, beyond the fact that the said priest was displeased with it'.

Later Buchanan did remember a little more - 'the conversation which he had at Bordeaux ... was a brief discussion as to whether the friars⁴ of St. Dominic were bound not to eat meat when travelling; and that he, Master George, held that they were not so bound, because he thinks he had heard so from old friars of St. Dominic' (Fifth Examination). Probably Pinheiro's account of the conversation, partially confirmed as it is by Buchanan, is substantially true.

¹Apparently a reference to Luke x. 7-8.

²Buchanan was clearly not Pinheiro's main object of attack.

³Rather 'friar' as before.

⁴I read 'friars' as more accurate than Henriques' 'monks'.

16. in Gallia vulgo dici. Buchanan lays noteworthy emphasis on French freedom of speech here and elsewhere.

16. offensum sensi. Cf. Buchanan's words in the Second Examination quoted above. Buchanan, like many men of a witty and sarcastic turn of mind, seems often to have underestimated the resentment his witticisms were calculated to arouse in his victims.¹

16. homini molesto. The inquisitors had not succeeded in unearthing this incident. The jest is of a not uncommon type and not wholly undeserved for, despite the proverb 'cucullus non facit monachum' there was a good deal in mediæval times of what has been called the fetishism of the cow.²

16. ansam. I would direct attention to my emendation here. This use of the word is quite classical, and incidentally is frequently employed by Latomus in the work previously quoted - a work Buchanan on his own admission often read.

17. dialogum. This work, written between 1539 and 1543, was not acknowledged by Buchanan, and is in no edition of his works.

¹Scott makes a similar observation in reference to Queen Mary (Abbot, ch. xxi).

²Thus grew up the ad succurrendum system (Coulton i. 90ff. and Appendix 10) to which Buchanan refers in the Franciscanus vv.117ff.

17. patres qui ... institutum. The motives for such conduct were sometimes religious, sometimes economic. Nunneries especially were used as a dumping-ground for younger and less attractive daughters of the nobility - both to provide for them and increase the share of the others. The same thing also occurred with boys (Coulton ii.56, 61ff.). The case here is, of course, somewhat different.

17. in Santonibus. Saintonge is ^apart of France just north of Guyenne corresponding to the present Dép. 55 Charente Inférieure. Élie Vinet, Buchanan's close friend, belonged by birth to this region.

18. neminem ... offenderat. Despite Buchanan's statement, it has been suggested (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, p. 390 note) that the animosity of the religious Orders was ^{or}raised by this 'dialogus', and so Buchanan left Bordeaux. Certainly the author's suppression of his work suggests it was not so innocent as he claims it was.

18. minus scandali futurum. The scandal caused by concubinary priests was notorious everywhere. For the particular case of Scotland ample evidence is afforded by the Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, and a striking example of episcopal incontinence was displayed by Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray. (See Knox's 'meary bourd' - Laing i.41.)

18. ut solebat ... matrimonium. Clerical celibacy, which was not finally made compulsory till the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), was owing to the scandals it caused always open to attack, and Buchanan was not alone in suggesting a reversion to the older practice. Pius II (1458-64) is reported to have said 'That there was great reason for the prohibiting of priests to marry, but greater for allowing it again'.¹ In practice as well as theory the reformers approved marriage of the clergy (cf. the cases of Luther, Knox and others). Buchanan adopts an intermediate position when he is cross-examined later:-

'Asked, with regard to the article of the marriage of priests, of which he speaks in his Confession, if at any time he had held that formerly priests were free to marry, he replied that he thought that he had, but he never taught this, nor did he advise any one in Holy Orders to marry' (Fourth Examination).

On the possibility that Buchanan attended the marriage of a priest in 1538 see Appendix 2.

18. An ... vivere. This question is discussed by Latomus in the treatise referred to above. It is a point of theological importance in determining whether there is a 'vocation' to celibacy. Latomus argues that there is such a vocation, and anyone called can receive Divine grace to enable him to fulfil his vocation.

¹Translation by Sir Paul Rycart, Kt. (London 1688) of Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*. Dr. Hay Fleming in a pamphlet ('The church from which the Reformation delivered Scotland,' Edin. 1931) notes that the original Latin (*Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublata nuptias, maiori restituendas videri*) is omitted in several editions of the author (e.g. Louvain 1571, Venice 1592) while being present in many others. I have myself noted the omission in the edition of Louvain 1562. On the main point, to judge from evidence cited by Coulton the evils caused by clerical celibacy were notorious in Spain up till very recent times. (See Inquisition and Liberty, p. 309).

18. Nicolao Pichoto. Michel refers to a doctor Pierre Pichot who practised at Bordeaux in the 16th century, and wrote two works:- De animorum Natura, morbis, vitiis, noxis etc. Burd. 1574 and De rheumatismo, catharro etc. Burd. 1577. He is styled professor of medicine at Bordeaux by Gauilleur (p. 345).

Nicolas Pichot may possibly be the 'red-haired doctor(?)' referred to by Pinheiro (see his evidence quoted on p.87) or the unnamed 'medicus' (apparently belonging to Bordeaux) referred to by Talpin as a witness for certain suspicious acts of Costa and Teive. (See p. ix)

19. quantam vulgus credit. The popular attitude on the value of the monastic dress (shared too often by the monks) is shown by the widespread practice of taking the vows ad succurrendum (Coulton i. 90ff. and Appendix 10). 'The monk not only wore his garment night and day, but was buried in it' (Coulton iii.17). An anecdote to prove 'that the penitential frock doth indeed profit much, provided that the change of will be sincere' is told by Thomas Cantimpratani (Bonum Universale de Apibus, II c.51, p.309; quoted by Coulton MG No. 183.)

19. ab Ecclesia sancitum. Buchanan was later cross-examined on this point. 'Asked, with regard to the clause of his Confession in which he says it is not necessary to believe that the Franciscan Habit has all the virtues with which the common people believe it to be endowed, and if he believes that those who are buried in that Habit will obtain all the Indulgences granted to them by the Pope, he replied that he did, but that he was unaware that these indulgences had been given, his opinion being that the said Indulgences were derived from the promise of St. Francis,

and not from the Pope; and that he had doubted about that promise of St. Francis, because no mention was made of it in his biography' (Fourth Examination).

19. miraculis. This whole section is discussed in a valuable article by the late George Neilson, entitled 'The Franciscan: Some Footnotes'. (See G.Q.S. pp. 297-332) I am greatly indebted to this article for directing me to several important sources.

19. atque etiam per Diabolum. The belief in diabolic miracles was a medieval commonplace. A popular Mary-legend recounts how the Virgin induced certain demons to work a miracle to save a sinful monk and his lady-love from deserved disgrace.¹ Ludwig Lavater heads a section of his work² with the title 'Diabolo non est difficile, variis formis apparere et res mirandas efficere' (II.17).

Buchanan was examined further on this point. 'Asked what his opinion was upon the article of his confession in which he says that wonderful works were often presented both by the Saints and by the Devil, if it was his belief that the wonders worked

¹The story is referred to by Coulton i.164 and told in MG No. 99 from the version of Jacques de Vitry in his Exempla (p.117).

²De Spectris Lemuribus Variisque Praesagitionibus is the title of the work referred to. It was first published in 1570. My references are to the edition published at Geneva 1575.

by the Saints were on an equality with the others; he said that, at a certain period, he had believed them to be equal, and this was because he had interpreted wrongly some of the things which he read; but that the master Priest, Friar Hieronimus, has made them clear to him'¹ (Fourth Examination).

This question of the distinction to be made between Divine and diabolic miracles is discussed by James VI in his Daemonologie bk. i ch. 6.

On the general question of the essence of miracle G. K. Chesterton has an interesting passage:-²

'The modern mind always mixes up two different ideas: mystery in the sense of what is marvellous, and mystery in the sense of what is complicated. That is half its difficulty about miracles. A miracle is startling, but it is simple. It is simple because it is a miracle. It is power coming directly from God (or the devil) instead of indirectly through nature or human wills'.

19. ficto miraculo. The faking of miracles - a device made possible by popular credulity - was too common in the medieval Church, and many examples could be given. Well-known impostures in 16th-century Scotland were the miracles of Loretto (the Carfin of the day) fabricated by Thomas Doughty the hermit³ and the remarkable career of John Scot 'the Sanct'³ as he is termed in the Treasurer's Accounts. General references to this topic will be found in Coulton MG Nos. 17, 249-50.

¹This remark appears to suggest that Buchanan was receiving secret guidance and instruction from d'Azambuja (see p. xxxviii).

²From the story 'The Wrong Shape' in 'The Innocence of Father Brown'.

³References are (for Doughty) Calderwood i.101-2, Laing i.72ff (for Scot) Hist. xiv.272c, Laing i.96ff., Calderwood i.101-2.

20. *Fratrum Bernensium historia*. A scandal of 1509 referred to by Buchanan in the *Franciscanus* vv. 813ff. I proceed to summarize the detailed account of Lavater (I. 7 pp. 35-45).

The occasion of the imposture was the quarrel between Black and Grey Friars over the Immaculate Conception. The Dominicans endeavoured to prove their case - that the Virgin was conceived in original sin - by a miracle, and chose Berne for the scene. Four monks, including the Sub-Prior, laid a plot with the aid of a 'cacodaemon' whom they raised in the form of an Ethiop, and secured as an ally by pledging their souls in a bond written in their own blood.

The conspirators used as their tool a simple laybrother John Jetzer who had recently joined their Order, and arranged appearances of supposed 'spirits' to their dupe, progressing later to 'visions' of St. Barbara and the Virgin, who supported the theological views of the Dominicans. As a sign the supposed Virgin drove a nail through Jetzer's hand, and the other 'stigmata' were inflicted under an anaesthetic.¹ Jetzer was now hailed as a 'new Christ', and the affair naturally made a great sensation.

However, Jetzer's suspicions were at last aroused, and the conspirators in alarm tried to destroy him by a poisoned host. The attempt miscarried, and the intended victim revealed all he knew and suspected to the magistrates. The matter was investigated by Church and State, the truth discovered by torture, and the four conspirators were degraded and burnt 31 May 1509. It was generally considered that the Pope would willingly have hushed up the scandal, and that it was only the pressure of the magistrates of Berne that secured the condign punishment of the guilty.

Despite the supernatural colouring, the account seems correct in essentials. The scandal made a sensation all over Europe, and there is ample corroboration. See e.g. Foxe ii.5 and d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation* Bk. viii as well as further references given by Neilson in his article.

¹Other Orders were always jealous of the repute the Franciscans had gained through the famous 'stigmata' of St. Francis; and this is by no means the only attempt at fraudulent imitation.

20. Infinita ... Angliam. Buchanan may be thinking of such scandals as that of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent (hanged 1534) who was used as a tool by the Catholic party. Earlier English frauds are mentioned by Sir Thomas More, who refers to the exposure of an impostor in the reign of Henry VI who claimed that his sight had been miraculously restored and to a fictitious exhibition of fasting in the previous reign.¹

20. Aureliae ... Franciscani. A scandal of 1534, referred to Franciscanus vv. 807ff. Being chagrined at receiving less money for their services at the burial of a lady than they had expected, certain Grey Friars 'counterfeited a ghost' and claimed that the lady was damned for Lutheran opinions. The widower (who was the mayor of Orleans) appealed to the King, and ^{the}deceit was discovered. The culprits escaped punishment through the opportune outbreak of a Lutheran persecution.²

Buchanan may have heard of this tale directly from acquaintances at Orleans - certainly at a later date he had many friends there, as his letter to Pierre Daniel proves (Epist. iii). Also Beza who was in Orleans in 1535 could have passed on the story.

¹More, English Works p. 194 quoted by Coulton MG No. 326 and ii.498. The former story finds a place in Shakespeare (2 Henry VI, II.i.). For a scandal in More's own lifetime see his account of what happened at the Abbey of St.-Valery-sur-Somme (op. cit. p.194). For Elizabeth Barton see Foxe ii.373 and Constant pp.209ff.

²A full account of the Orleans fraud is given in Sleidan's De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae lib. ix. Lavater (I.8) repeats this account verbatim immediately after the Berne story to show that the Franciscans also perpetrate fraudulent miracles. Foxe (ii.750) also retells the story from Sleidan. Neilson gives a long extract from the Tudor translation of John Daus (1560), and I have myself seen Bohun's version.

20. prope Tolosam sacerdotes. Coulton ii. 345 quoting from Desmazes Les Pénalités anciennes (Paris 1866) refers to an incident of 1539, which is probably what Buchanan has in mind. The hangman of Toulouse was paid 'pour mettre à execution l'arrêt de la court à l'encontre de frère Anthoine Ricardi, religieux, condamné à estre bruslé tout vif, pour crime détestable.'

Buchanan was in Toulouse in 1544 (see below p.125) and may then have heard of this scandal. Or possibly he may have been informed of it by his friend Antonio de Gouveia who appears to have left Bordeaux for Toulouse in 1539.

20. in suburbio ... Benedictinorum. This scandal I must leave unidentified.

I may note here that in the Franciscanus w.479ff. Buchanan introduces the story of a Franciscan scandal at Bordeaux - not, however, of the nature of a faked miracle. This passage may belong to the later revision of the Franciscanus.

20. In Scotia ... confirmare. The previous scandals mentioned were apparently known to the judges, but they desired further information on this point. Buchanan 'replied that the said William Lang, according to popular report, and as was afterwards proved before the King, conjured with another man that he should say that a departed soul had appeared to him, which eventually was found to be false' (Fourth Examination). The story is told in detail in the Franciscanus vv. 823-911. According to this account the scene of the scandal was Dysart and an attempt was made to prove the existence of Purgatory, taking advantage of the convenient proximity of a burning coal-bing.¹

Buchanan is the main authority for this story; but general confirmation is afforded by the 'Ryme ... maid by Alexander Erle of Glencarne' quoted by Knox (Laing i. 72) and Calderwood (i.135ff.). Lavater (I.9) refers to Buchanan's version of the story.

The date of the scandal seems to be 1538, and Friar Lang² in consequence of this exposure lost his post as Confessor to the King.

¹Volcanoes and similar phenomena were in medieval times regarded as mouths of hell or purgatory. The classical show-piece of this type was St. Patrick's Purgatory described by Sir James Melville as 'like an old coal-pit which had taken fire by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole.'

²Lang is (despite the divergence in the Christian name - which, however, is given as Walter in the Earl of Glencairn's rhyme mentioned above) probably the Walter Lang that is mentioned as the betrayer of the martyr Henry Forrest (Calderwood i.96) and the persecutor of Friar Alexander Dick, an apostate member of the Observantine Convent in Aberdeen - see Moir Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars pp. 106ff. and the documents given in II pp. 226ff.

Neilson argues that Buchanan would not have reminded the inquisitors of these scandals unless they had already been referred to in the Franciscanus, as he had not been asked on his belief in miracles, but he might feel compelled to deal with the matter if he thought that the contents of his poem might have come to his judges' ears. If this argument is sound, the last part of the Franciscanus was written in 1538 and the poem was probably more nearly complete then than we might have supposed. It might be noted that an attack on his discredited ex-confessor would be pleasing to the king, and account for the extreme rage of the Franciscans.

21. locum poenae aeternae ac alium poenae temporalis. Purgatory and Hell are theologically distinct conceptions¹ but in practice and popular belief became almost indistinguishable, as Purgatory was made progressively more severe. For this process see Coulton i. ch. 5 passim.

Buchanan considered that Catholics and Lutherans agreed on the article of Purgatory (Fourth Examination).

21. poenam ... etiamsi culpa. poena is the penalty or penance due for sin; culpa is the guilt which can only be remitted by

¹As is well brought out by Dante's scheme where Purgatory is the Mount of Hope. In a series of articles entitled 'Is Hell a Reality?' by representatives of various denominations which appeared in the Glasgow Herald in 1929 the Catholic writer Abbot Butler made the point that Purgatory should logically be considered in connection with Heaven, not with Hell.

confession and absolution. But naturally enough the two ideas were confused, and even the language of official Indulgences was inaccurate. 'The Plenary Indulgence was officially advertised as being a culpa et poena, while its real efficacy was only against poena' (Coulton iii.23). Cf. the same Author's Inquisition and Liberty pp. 270, 336.

21. an indulgentiae ... mortuos. One of the very points raised by Luther was that indulgences had no application to souls in Purgatory, as penalties imposed by the Church can only refer to the living, and the Church can only remit what the Church has imposed. The papal theory of purgatory and indulgences was, of course, lucrative as Buchanan emphasizes (Franciscanus vv. 642ff.).

21. De qua dicam inferius. The reference is to pp. 24-5.

21. ex fide et operibus. The Catholic doctrine.

21. ex fide per caritatem operante.¹ The Reformed doctrine. Buchanan is of course arguing ad homines when he says there is no difference between the two. For his examination on this point see Appendix 6. Buchanan according to his statements here and elsewhere interpreted Lutheran phrases in a Catholic sense.

¹Cf. Gal. v.6 - fides, quae per caritatem operatur (Vulgate), fides per caritatem operans (Beza's version). I would draw attention to the fact that with the help of M I have been enabled to make sense of this passage for the first time in any published text.

22. Cum ... legerem i.e. between 1535 and 1539.

22. Augustini. It is worth noting that one of the Edinburgh martyrs - Dean Thomas Forret - was also influenced by the reading of St. Augustine (see Appendix 2). St. Augustine is indeed frequently appealed to by Reformers (see discussions in Foxe) and, of course, Luther himself was directly affected by St. Augustine's opinions. Buchanan refers to Augustine's influence on him in the Vita.

22. De Doctrina Christiana. The title of one of the most important of St. Augustine's works. Its four books form 'a sort of sketch of Hermeneutics and Homiletics, and may be regarded as an introduction to Augustine's Commentaries' (Farrar, Lives of the Fathers ii. p.609).¹

22. in locum ... libro 3. The reference is to cap. 16, as is made certain by the quotation of the relevant passage by Thomas Smeaton (see p.xliv). One would gather from Smeaton that Buchanan had discussed this passage at Coimbra also.

22. fratri Dominicano. Identification seems impossible as Buchanan gives no sufficient details.

¹The edition is Edinburgh 1889.

22. sacramentarium. A 'sacramentarian',¹ signified in Buchanan's day almost the opposite of what it does now. Dictionary definitions are as follows:- (Hist.; also sacramentary) denying, decrifier of, the Real Presence (as holding that 'body and blood of Christ' was used only in a sacramental, i.e. symbolic sense) ; (mod.) holding and involving, holder of high sacramental doctrine (C.O.D.)

23. alii Augustini loci. We cannot know what passages in particular disturbed Buchanan, but the authority of St. Augustine was frequently adduced by Protestants in controversy on the doctrine of the Eucharist. Cf. such disputations in Foxe (especially the dialogue between Custom and Verity on the phrase 'This is my body' ii.949-57) where St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana and other works are cited in favour of the Reformed view.

23.ab adversariis stare videretur. This is illustrated in the preceding note. Buchanan is clearly thinking mainly of the doctrine of the Eucharist.

¹For a Scottish decree against sacramentarians see Acts of the Lords of Council pp. 527-8 under date June 2, 1543.

ut ego ...aperirem. As for instance to Jean Talpin who (according to Pinheiro) said ' that the said Buchanan had tried to prove and

shew him, according to St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana, that the Body of Our Lord was in the Eucharistic Sacrament per modum signitatem'. Buchanan, 'asked what he felt with regard to the presence of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, ... said that he felt that the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was truly and really there, just as the Holy Church of Rome believes It to be. And he was asked if, at any time, arguing with any person, he, Master George, had endeavoured to prove the opinion of St. Augustine to be that the Body of Our Lord was, in the Sacrament, figuratively only, he, Master George, replied that often, when arguing, but he cannot remember where or with whom, he had said that St. Augustine, in the book De Doctrina Christiana, and also in an authority of the Decree, favoured the Lutherans, in this part, by saying that, in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Our Lord was only figuratively; and it was because it appeared to him that St. Augustine had felt this, that his mind wavered, and he doubted if the Body of Our Lord was really there, and in this state of suspense and doubt he remained for some seven or eight months; which doubt was afterwards cleared away by his attending the lessons of the Catholics, at Paris, and by reading Rofense and Aclitoben.⁵ ... Asked if he had read these authorities of St. Augustine in the Saint's own works, or as quoted in some other book, he said that he read them in St. Augustine's own book, and that the authority of St. Augustine of the Decree, he had read in the Decree itself, turning over the Decree, and reading it, as he read other books.' (Second Examination) Later 'asked, as to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, if he had sometimes held and believed that the Body of Our Lord was there only figuratively and not really? He said that sometimes he had so held it to be, and at other times he has vacillated as he has said.' (Tenth Examination)

1. The St. Andrews Memorial Volume (p.392 note) errs in attributing this alleged remark of Buchanan to a conversation with Pinheiro himself. Pinheiro only speaks at second-hand, and his testimony is not confirmed by Talpin.

2. A reference to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, dogmatically proclaimed by Innocent III at the Lateran Council in 1215 and further defined at the Council of Trent. The logical consequences of this doctrine are well brought out by Coulton (i. 104ff. and Appendix 11 -- Aquinas on the Host).

3. So in Henriques' translation. The original runs 'e lemdo ha Rofemse/ e A clitoveu'. Roffensis (Rochester) and Clichtoveus are intended.

24. feriis paschalibus. Easter 1540 -- the first Easter Buchanan spent at Bordeaux -- seems the natural date to assume, but on the other hand Buchanan dates this event expressly to Easter 1541 'si recte memini' (p.48) See notes ad loc. on this chronological difficulty.

The dates of the Easter holidays at the Collège de Guyenne in these two years were as under¹:--

1540 Wednesday March 24 - Tuesday April 6 (inclusive).

1541 Wednesday April 13 - Tuesday April 26 (inclusive).

antequam communicarem. 'Asked if, at the time when he was wavering, he had ceased to take the Sacrament, on account of his doubts, he replied that, during the time that he was thus in doubt, he did not take the Sacrament, not on account of his doubts, but because it was not the time for communicating' (Second Examination).

ad And. Goveanum. In this connection we should note that André de Gouveia 'was an orthodox Catholic, and held several benefices in the Church' (Hume Brown, p. 123). It is true that owing to the fact that he died suddenly and so without the last offices of the Church a rumour that his opinions were doubtful was strengthened (Henriques p. xiv).

in sacramento ... neque contra. This seems to be an attempt to reconcile Catholic and Protestant theories of the Eucharist. 'Christ's

1. This information is derived from an article in the St. Andrews Memorial Volume 'Buchanan à Bordeaux' by H. de la Ville de Mirmont, then Professor of Latin, University of Bordeaux.

2. It was not unusual to communicate only once a year - generally at Easter (Coulton ii. 72, 75). Cf. Book of Discipline cap.xi on this 'superstition of times'.

body is truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under the appearances of bread and wine' (First Decree of the Lateran Council) and Gouveia's point seems to be that these appearances are also signs of the Presence - if I understand him rightly.

24.Roffensis. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1459-1535).

24.Clichtovei. Iudocus Clichtoveus, a Flemish theologian, was one of the first to write against Luther.

These writers were mentioned by Buchanan in his Second Examination (quoted above p. 103) and are again referred to on p.31. According to the letter of Congratulation from the Doctors of Louvain to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Doctors of Scotland upon the death of Patrick Hamilton 'Roffensis hath shewed himself an Evangelicall Phoenix' (quoted by Foxe ii.251) and from him by Laing i. Appendix III; see also Calderwood i.82).

quae ... disputant. See e.g. Fisher's Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum in C.C. vol.ix (cf. Constant p. 203) and the work by Clichtoveus entitled Compendium Veritatum ad Fidem Pertinentium, contra erroneas Lutheranorum affectiones ... per Iudocum Clichtoveum Neoportuensem, doctorem theologum Parisiensem, et canonicum Carnotensem elaboratum ac in luce emissum.

The work was published at Paris in 1529, and was dedicated to Francis I. Its general tenor may be gathered from the following list of some of the 25 chapter-headings, many of which stress 'the authority of the Church'.

De ecclesiae indeviabilitate in fide et moribus ; De conciliorum generalium indeviabilitate in fide et moribus : De potestate ecclesiae ad condendas leges : Ecclesiam obligare fideles ad nonnulla extra scripturam : De ieiunio et delectu ciborum, sive abstinencia : De coelibatu sacerdotum novae legis : De votis monasticis integre servandis : De communione laicorum sub una specie : De potestate excommunicandi collata ecclesiae : De haereticis puniendis secundum iuris determinationem : De divitiis ecclesiae non auferendis ab ea : De sacramentis ecclesiasticis et eorum efficacia : De sacrificio missae quod in ecclesia frequentatur : De contritione, confessione et satisfactione : De purgatorio et suffragiis pro defunctis : De veneratione sanctorum nequaquam tollenda : De imaginibus sanctorum venerandis.

24. Lutetiae. These meetings at Paris must be dated in August and early September 1539.

25. sub meum ... pascha. The dates here given are from July 1539 to Easter 1540 (i.e. March 28)

25. vetitum erat disputare. A reference to the famous Act of the Six Articles passed May 1539 (when Buchanan was in England). It upheld (1) the doctrine of transubstantiation; (2) that communion under both kinds was not necessary; (3) the doctrine of clerical celibacy; (4) the binding force of a vow of chastity; (5) the usefulness of private masses; and (6) the Divine institution of auricular confession.

Denial of any article was severely punished; in the case of the first article the penalty was death by fire and confiscation of goods, even if the offender abjured. Hence all discussion of transubstantiation was impossible (see Constant pp. 417ff.)¹

25.de Missa an esset sacrificium. No direct testimony was adduced against Buchanan in this matter, but doubts on this point (as his judges saw) would logically follow from his doubts on transubstantiation. So they asked him 'if he had at any time felt that the Mass was not a sacrifice; he replied that he had often felt that either it was not a sacrifice, or that it was the same sacrifice that had been offered on the Cross,² and that, as he came to the conclusion that the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was really present, the consequence was that he considered it to be a sacrifice' (Second Examination). The inquisitors were not satisfied with Buchanan's attitude. 'Asked, with regard to the article of the sacrifice of the Mass whether he considered that it was, or had doubted that it was verily a sacrifice; he replied that, after he had doubted that Christ was present in the Sacrament on the Altar figuratively only, he doubted also its being a sacrifice; and that, all the time he doubted the former, he also doubted the latter' (Fourth Examination).

The Reformers, in rejecting transubstantiation, also denied the sacrificial nature of the Mass.³

1. In Scotland religious controversy was forbidden by Act of Parliament in March 1541.
2. This shows clearly the logical connection referred to above.
3. As relating to this topic, note the words of Wishart as reported by Buchanan -- 'Ut perfecta fierent membra Christi, qui assidue pro nobis interpellat Patrem, ut nostrum sacrificium apud eum proficiat in vitam aeternam' (Hist. xv. 294a). Andrew Melville in a marginal note doubted whether Wishart would have used the word 'sacrificium' thus -- see Ruddiman's interesting note ad loc.

disputatione quadam publica. What precedes suggests that this debate did not take place in Scotland or England. It must then have taken place in France, probably at Bordeaux; for Buchanan, when hiding at Paris from the Cardinal of Scotland, could scarcely have engaged in a public debate. The date must be between September 1539 and Easter 1540 or 1541.

Melchior Flavius I have not met with elsewhere.

26. Unane ... an plures. See Coulton on the multiplication of Masses (i.130ff.)

26. multas ... frequentia. St. Odo of Cluny wrote of the Mass: 'This mystery was not so often celebrated in the earliest Church as now; yet it was the more religious, the more infrequent. ... Now it is celebrated far, far more often, but (sad to say) it is more negligently repeated.'

26. quod ... in foro. The church being the centre of the life of the parish, business contracts were naturally enough often signed in it, and other secular affairs transacted, even during the services of the Mass. Examples are given by Coulton i.130 note.

26. Missas ... putavi. In the original this sentence is written 'in the margin without reference to the text' (Henriques' note) -- presumably as an afterthought.

¹ Quoted by Coulton i.130.

For such magical use of religious rites see Coulton i. Appendix 12 'The Host and the Mass in Witchcraft' where many references are given. An instance (occurring in 1328) of the use of certain materials of the Mass for the discovery of theft is described in the Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis v.269.¹ We may note that Knox in a sermon preached at Berwick on 4 April 1550 attacked in particular such childish use of the Mass.²

27. qui temere orant. 'Asked, with regard to Prayer, if he held that all who prayed without attention sinned in praying, he said that only those erred who prayed, thinking that by simply speaking the words of the prayer they did what was sufficient' (Fourth Examination).

Certain medieval legends supported this vulgar error, especially perhaps the more extravagant Mary-legends. (Coulton i. Appendix 19 in which note particularly the story of Mary and the cannibal.)

27. qui ... applicant. For the use of the Lord's Prayer as a charm see, for example, the remarks of Lea on sorcery (iv.188ff.) and compare the North Berwick Witchcraft Trials of 1590-1. Agnes Samson's prayers as given in Pitcairn are pseudo-religious formulae — one is a doggerel version of the Apostles' Creed. Witches were also supposed to parody the Lord's Prayer e.g. by saying 'Our Father which wert in Heaven'.

¹ Coulton MG No.220. Cf. also Coulton i.114.

² Most of this sermon is quoted by Knox's latest biographer, Lord Eustace Percy (pp.140ff.).

28. confessionem auricularem. See the note on p.113.

28. leve ... si sine scandalo fieret. This criterion of relative veniality in sin is typically medieval. Referring to visitation records, Coulton remarks 'Nothing is more remarkable than the extreme, though of course natural, fear of scandal which frequently¹ transpires from these documents' (ii.261 -- many examples follow). It was a principle 'to punish only that which cannot be concealed'. Buchanan when questioned reaffirms this viewpoint -- see the passage quoted on p.113 and also the following excerpt :--

'Asked, with regard to human precepts, if he had mentally held that they are not binding unless propter scandalum et aliorum conscienciam? He replied, yes.' (Tenth Examination.)

28In cibis. Buchanan was charged with heterodox sentiments on this question by Pinheiro (see his evidence quoted above pp.87ff.). Other evidence tended to show that Buchanan's heterodoxy was not merely academic. Pinheiro had heard (at second-hand from a Doctor² of the Sorbonne through Diogo de Gouveia) 'that Buchanan, when at the College (of Guyenne) used to eat meat in Lent'. Ferrerius made the same charge, referring to Buchanan when in Scotland -- see Appendix 2.

¹ Other references where relevant examples are given are ii.338, 343, and especially 479ff. (Appendix 21 -- Avoidance of Scandal). From the sinner's point of view the medieval maxim 'Si non caste, tamen caute' sums up the situation neatly.

² Perhaps Simon Simson, whom Diogo de Gouveia gives as his authority for certain statements about Buchanan -- not this statement, however.

Buchanan himself, after denying in the First Examination that he held any heterodox opinions on this head, admitted in ^{the} Second Examination that he had eaten meat in Scotland during Lent 1538 (see above pp. 5-6 and notes ad loc.). Later also he had to admit he had eaten meat during the Lents of 1547 and 1550. I quote this important passage.

'Asked what he had eaten when he came from France or elsewhere; he said that he remembered, when coming from France to Portugal, that at Salamanca, being unable to eat the whole-meal Spanish bread, he ate meat on some days, but he cannot remember how many, and that it was also because his stomach was out of order;¹ but that he had no other precise illness, and this was in Lent;² and that his companions, namely, Master Joam da Costa and Master Diogo de Teive, who were lodged with him, also ate of it, it being his opinion that all had the same complaint in their stomachs as he had. Asked if at any other time, prohibited by Holy Church, had he eaten meat in Portugal or in France, he said that he did not remember having eaten it upon prohibited days, in France, when in good health; but that, in Portugal, in the city of Coimbra, when at College, last Lent,³ he had eaten it because he was suffering from double tertian fever, and that he had a permit to do so,⁴ signed by the Bishop, and that a French Master, named Nicolas,⁵ also ate meat with him, because he, too, was ill; and that he cannot recollect eating meat at other times, except that Dom Sancho invited Master Nicolas and him to dinner, one day in Lent, and gave them meat to eat, of which he, Dom Sancho, also partook, as he thinks, because he was suffering from stone in the bladder. ... And he declared also that he had eaten meat at Salamanca, as he has stated, because the only fish that was to be met with was Conger, which they were unable to eat' (Seventh Examination -- cf. the Vita.)

¹ Buchanan's persistent ill-health is well known (see below p. 112).

² Lent 1547 was from Feb. 23 to Ap. 10. Gouveia and his colleagues are supposed to have left Bordeaux about the end of March (Hume Brown p. 132 who erroneously says 'they sailed from Bordeaux'), so they must have journeyed rapidly to Salamanca, where they apparently stayed for some time.

³ February 19 to April 6, 1550.

⁴ Joao Soares. See p. xv note.

⁵ Nicolas Grouchy, a colleague of Buchanan at Bordeaux and at Coimbra.

28. non ... hominem. Cf. Matt. xv.11 - 'non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem : sed quod procedit ex ore, hoc coinquinat hominem' (Vulgate).

28. fere per biennium. Buchanan by his own confession ate meat in Lent 1538, which seems to have been his first lapse from grace in this respect. The period referred to is then Lent 1538 to August 1539 when he left England. This is described (with some latitude) as 'almost two years'.

28. nunquam ... nisi valetudinis causa. Buchanan as we have just seen later admitted to having eaten meat in Lent 1547 and Lent 1550, but on his own account these lapses are covered by this proviso. Exemption from the usual restrictions on grounds of health was, of course, permitted.

28. quae ... adversa fuit. Buchanan's frequent ill-health is notorious -- see in particular his own account of the serious illness he endured in 1544, referred to in Appendix 4. His ailments were probably partly due to early hardships, but also no doubt partly hereditary and constitutional. We know that his father, Thomas Buchanan, died young from stone -- a fashionable complaint in the 16th century. For Buchanan's health in his last years, see his letters passim.

28. ex gravissimo Burdegalae coelo. Others found Bordeaux an unhealthy habitation. Robert Britannus, a teacher at the Collège de Guyenne, left in 1536 'atteint d'une maladie des bronches et d'une extinction de voix', and, though he returned after a few months, had to leave finally under medical advice 'chercher un ciel plus clément et une atmosphère moins chargée d'humidité'. Elie Vinet, also, had in 1542 to leave the College for some time for reasons of health. Moreover, during the 16th century plagues were recurrent at Bordeaux.¹

29. Confessione semper usus. 'Asked, if he felt that the Confession which is made to the ear of the priest, is of Divine or Human law, he said that it was the Divine Law that man should confess to the Priest ; but that the time for doing so is of human law, as he has already said in his Confession.² Asked how it was that he held it to be a venial sin that a man should fail to confess at the time which Holy Mother Church commands³; he said that he considered it to be venial as compared with sins which are contrary to the Divine Law ; and this because he thought that all sins which are contrary to human laws were venial, but not so much so as not to render men sometimes deserving of damnation therefor ; but that, as regards the precept of Confession, he felt, during the three years of which he spoke further back,⁴ that it would not be a mortal sin to postpone it, if it were not for the scandal of its being known that the individual had failed to confess' (Fourth Examination). Again, 'asked with regard to the article of Sacramental Confession, if he at any time

¹ Gaullieur passim.

² See above p.28

³ It was laid down by the Lateran Council of 1215 (and confirmed by the Council of Trent) that confession of mortal sin should be made to the priest at least once a year.

⁴ The reference is to a passage at the opening of the Fourth Examination where Buchanan refers to a three years' period of vacillation and doubt from which he did not escape till after he came to France. The period referred to seems to be from 1538 to 1541.

had thought it was not a Divine precept, but only a human institution? He said that he had held it to be so' (Tenth Examination).

29. etiam in Anglia. Hume Brown overlooking this passage erroneously stated (SR, April 1893) that for the six months he was in England Buchanan neither confessed nor communicated.

29. ibi non communicavi. i.e. Buchanan did not communicate from January to August 1539. This was hardly exceptional. For references to the rarity of communion see above p.105.

29. pontificis potestate. By this time the breach with Rome was fully consummated in England. In 1531 the clergy had acknowledged Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church of England ; and a further Submission of the Clergy was made on 15 May 1532. Finally, in 1534 Parliament confirmed the King's title of Supreme Head of the Church and ordered that the Pope should be known only as 'Bishop of Rome'.

29. in potestate concilii. The relative status of Pope and Council was for long a disputed question. French theologians, in particular, favoured Buchanan's view. The Council of Trent had to deal with

¹ And Henry VIII took the same line after his quarrel with the Pope. On this question of papal authority see Constant pp.383ff.

this matter ; one result of its meeting was indirectly to emphasize the papal supremacy. This process has been carried even further by the Vatican Council.

29. canonici ... offendit. Presumably because part of the importance of students of canon law lay in their ability to interpret papal bulls and decrees -- though these were not in the strict sense canon law.

29. multas ... pecuniae. Probably referring in particular to the sale of indulgences and masses. This is a point that Buchanan (following the 'book of the traders') constantly harps on in the Franciscanus e. g. w.642ff.

30. etiam profanorum. How much more then should the Holy Father be obeyed! This I take to be the point of Buchanan's cryptic turn of phrase.

30. Regem Angliae. On the position of Henry VIII see the note on the preceding page.

30. Item de purgatorio, de libero arbitrio. Buchanan has not till now expressly mentioned his disagreement with the English on these articles. Purgatory was upheld by Henry in the Ten Articles (1537). See Constant ch.viii 'The Church of England's Dogma under Henry VIII'.

30.de votis. Here again Henry was orthodox enough, and upheld the sanctity of vows. Buchanan must be talking of his disagreement with the advanced Reformers.

30.cum primum potui. It is known also from the Vita that of Buchanan's four tragedies the Baptistes, though the last to be published,¹ was the first to be written. The date of its composition is thus 1539-40.² It is possible that as Prof. Mirmont suggests the play may have been appropriately acted on 24th June, the festival of St. John the Baptist and a statutory holiday at the College.

30.in qua ... similitudo. This phrase probably was by a slip of Buchanan's pen written twice in the original MS.

30.mortem ... posui. A hitherto unsuspected interpretation of the play which overthrows all previous theories. For a discussion of the whole subject see Appendix 3.

31.fere per biennium. From Lent 1538 to August 1539.

¹ Not till 1578, in which year it appeared at Edinburgh and London.
² As in the Vita Buchanan refers to 'the custom of the school which demanded a play a year' and gives us the order of his plays, we can infer that the Medea was written in the session 1540-1, the Jephthes in the session 1541-2, and the Alcestis in the session 1542-3. The Medea (according to the colophon appended to the text of the play) was acted at Bordeaux in 1543. This performance was possibly a revival.

31. Burdegala² vero. These words commence a new section of the Defence. The biographical sketch is resumed, and continues almost to the end of the First Defence.

31. quicquid fui temporis. Buchanan says he taught three years at Bordeaux (Vita). 'Asked from whence he came to Portugal, he said that at Bordeaux he taught for three years Grammar to the First Class' (First Examination). As Buchanan came to Bordeaux in September 1539, the natural conclusion is that he left towards the end of 1542 or early in 1543¹; and this conclusion is duly drawn by the biographers (Hume Brown p.125 and note)². But this inference is contradicted by Buchanan's express statement a little further on.

31. ex Roffensi et Clichtoveo. These authors have already been mentioned more than once.

31. in rebus sacris ... suscipierem. This admission of the supreme jurisdiction of the Church in spiritual matters was certainly the

¹ The date of Buchanan's departure rested merely on inference from the Vita until the discovery of the Lisbon documents. The records of the Collège de Guyenne do not help.

² Though Professor Mirmont thought that Buchanan must have stayed at Bordeaux for more than three years (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, p.35). But he was wrong in protracting Buchanan's stay till 1544. (p.41).

most prudent line for a scholar in the 16th century. Even at a later date Descartes¹ adopts a similar attitude, and submits all his opinions to the authority of the Church.

32.per postremum biennium. Apparently 1541-3. Perhaps Easter 1541 (when Buchanan -- by his own account -- made his peace with the Church) is the starting-point. The date that Buchanan left Bordeaux falls to be considered later.

32.sed etiam in regem ipsum. The general point of French freedom of speech has been already stressed by Buchanan. As to the freedom enjoyed in dealing with royal personages on the stage an example may be adduced from Bordeaux itself. When in 1529 Francis I, returning from his Spanish captivity, entered Bordeaux, he was entertained by an allegorical comedy in which one of the actors played the part of the royal spectator himself (Gauilleur p.253).

32.durissimae inquisitionis temporibus. Francis I in the latter part of his reign adopted a persecuting policy. One of the executions Buchanan might have witnessed with apprehensive interest was that of the scholar Étienne Dolet in 1546.

¹Principles of Philosophy IV. xx. (Everyman edition, p.228).

32. Sub finem anni 1543. Buchanan's stay at Bordeaux is thus nearly four years as he was on the staff of the Collège de Guyenne by December 1539 (Silvae i). This is further confirmed by his writing four plays at the rate of one per year. When Buchanan says he taught at Bordeaux for three years (First Examination), he must be making a minimum reckoning (only counting completed years). This carelessness about exact chronology is a weakness of Buchanan's shown notably in the Vita.

32. ea mente ... Ecclesiae. I am sceptical of Buchanan's alleged desire to return home at this time. Apart from my feeling that ceteris paribus Buchanan preferred France as a residence, Scotland, with Betoun and Arran at the head of affairs, was an unpropitious haven for the exile. But if Buchanan did not wish to return home just now, can we assume that he did not desire to explain to the inquisitors the true reason why he left Bordeaux?

In the Vita indeed Buchanan asserts that the Cardinal 'had sent a letter to the Archbishop of Bordeaux¹ about arresting Buchanan ; but good fortune had delivered the letter to the closest friends of Buchanan! But we should note that even here Buchanan does not say that he left Bordeaux for fear of arrest ; he gives no reason why he left and indeed jumps with a most misleading 'Interea' to the year 1547.

We must still agree with Hume Brown that Buchanan left Bordeaux for reasons that have not been clearly ascertained. Perhaps, after all, health was the deciding factor (see note on p.113) or it is possible that the 'dialogus' mentioned above (see p.17) may have aroused more opposition than Buchanan says.

1

Charles de Grammont (+1544).

²He had a practical example in his friend André de Gouveia, who held several benefices in the Church.

³Hume Brown makes this suggestion (pp.80, 90ff.), referring to the opening lines of the Somnium and the Franciscanus.

32a Paulo Pontifice. Pope Paul III 1534-49.

32bulla veniae generalis. The inquisitors made strenuous but unavailing endeavours to trace this Bull of 1543 or 1544 -- see Appendix 4.

33.Neque ... purgandi. Again this unconvincing motive for return - a reason, however, calculated to appeal to his judges.

33.meus labor ... perciperem. It must be concluded from this statement that Buchanan was well aware of the financial benefits² he could have obtained by entering the Church. He may well at³ certain points of his career have been tempted by these prospects, but his refusal to enter the Church was certainly due rather to his consciousness of her defects than to the excessive scrupulosity claimed here.

34.Interea Lutetiae. We now enter upon the period 1543-7, hitherto known as the gap in Buchanan's biography -- the years¹ passed over for some obscure reason in his Vita. The present passage is therefore of peculiar interest.

During part of this period, at least, Buchanan taught at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine where Joam Gelida was Principal. This was already chronicled by the biographers from several testimonies² and is now expressly confirmed by the evidence of Simon Simson (see Appendix 2).

34.Jo. Ershin. John Erskine, third son of John, fourth Lord Erskine, and afterwards Earl of Mar and Regent of Scotland. 'He was trained for the Church, and succeeded to the title unexpectedly, owing to the death of two elder brothers.' (D.N.B.). Buchanan in his epitaph on Mar says 'This is peculiar to himself, that in the course of a long life envy and hatred have no charge with which to reproach him.' (Misc. xxv)

34.priore ... Colmoci. John Erskine was commendator of Inchmahome.³ In 1537 Robert Erskine, then commendator of Inchmahome, desired⁴ to resign in exchange with John Erskine, Chancellor of Moray.

¹ See Appendix 4 -- The Silent Years.

² Those of Moreri and Nicole Bourbon (Hume Brown p.126), combined with indications furnished by Eleg. iv.

³ Robert Erskine, rector of Glenbervy and commendator of Inchmahome, 'nationis Angusiae' was incorporated at St. Salvator's in 1530.

⁴ Letter of James V to the Pope Nov. 13, 1537 in Caprinton MS. of Royal Letters. (For the source see p. 59).

34.fratre ... molestias. This passage identifies the lady as Margaret Erskine, Lady Lochleven.

34.Gulielmo Cranstono. William Cranstoun was incorporated in the University of St. Andrews in 1551 and was then appointed Principal of St. Salvator's College in succession to John Mair. He is described as 'Doctor Theologus Parisiensis, prae¹positus de Setoun ac rector de Kenbak, diocesis Glasguensis'. He is said to have published a textbook on logic at Paris in 1545.²

34.Davide Panitario tum legato. David Painter, commendator of Cambuskenneth Abbey, later Secretary and Bishop of Ross. Buchanan later expressed an unfavourable view of his character (Hist. xv.282d), but we may take the words 'Erat enim ... homo summo ingenio et doctrina praeditus, Hamiltoniorum quidem beneficiis affectus, nec ab eorum genere et consiliis alienus' as his final verdict (Hist. xvi. 308a ; cf. 304b). Knox (Laing i. 105) and Calderwood (i.160) are uncompromisingly hostile to Painter.

¹ Early Records of St. Andrews p. 254.

² I think that this is the Cranstoun referred to by Étienne Perlin (Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse ... ; Paris 1558). He mentions two learned Scots doctors of theology Simon Simson of the Sorbonne (whom we have met) and Cranstoun, 'who had been rector'. Both are today (says Perlin) bishops in Scotland and in high repute. He is, of course, wrong on the former point ; neither became a bishop, but Cranstoun as we have seen attained a responsible position.

34. qui nunc ... in Gallia. Painter was appointed Bishop of Ross in 1545, and then sent abroad as ambassador to various powers, especially France. He returned to Scotland in 1552 and died in 1558.

But he was never Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1550, however, the see of Glasgow was vacant, and Painter was presumably pulling strings to secure the appointment. After the death of Gavin Dunbar¹ in 1547 the Hamiltons wished to have one of themselves at Glasgow as well as St. Andrews, but the Pope was not unnaturally unwilling to accede to their wishes. Eventually in 1551 James Betoun was appointed to the see of Glasgow.

34. literas Graecas. Buchanan told the inquisitors that he had studied 'in Paris Latin and Greek and Philosophy' (First Examination). This suggests he was not self-taught in Greek, as has been assumed (e.g. by Hume Brown p.13)².

34. nisi ... fuisset. This disease must be Buchanan's serious illness of 1544 which he proceeds to mention. The proposed lectures must accordingly have been planned for summer 1544. This agrees with Painter's movements. He had returned to Scotland in June 1543 with John Hamilton, later Archbishop of St. Andrews (Laing i. 105 note), but was again sent to France as an ambassador in December.

¹A prelate Buchanan knew and admired -- cf. his pleasant vignette of Scottish ecclesiastical life at its best (Ep. i.43)

²yet Buchanan said later in a letter to Daniel Rogers - 'I wrote the Medea not for publication, but to improve my self-taught knowledge of Greek' (Epist. xxvii)

34.nullus ... usus. Scotsmen in Paris with whom Buchanan was probably not on very intimate terms would include the doctors of the Sorbonne Simon Simson and James Laing! Yet he probably knew them slightly -- Laing claims to have met Buchanan at Paris and Simson knew something of him.

Apart from Scotsmen, Buchanan's acquaintance at Paris was apparently extensive and distinguished. Besides the persons he mentions shortly, he may now have enjoyed the acquaintance of Cardinal Jean du Bellay (Ep. i.2), Charles Marillac, Bishop of Vienne (Ep. i.3), and Mellin de St. Gelais, the poet (Ep.i.57— (cf. the Vita).

34.in morbum articulare. This illness of the summer and autumn of 1544 seems to have proved nearly fatal. It was then that Eleg. iv was written (Ad Ptolomaeum Luxium Tastaeum, et Iacobum Tevium, cum articulari morbo laboraret, M.D. XLIV.).

35.per factiones domesticas Scotorum. Buchanan refers particularly to the campaign of 1544 when the Douglasses fought on the English side.

35.Angli ... videbantur. The English during the war from 1543 to 1550 did not confine themselves to sporadic invasions. Broughty Craig and Haddington were fortresses held by them during 1548.

35. longissime ... abessem. I find this rather sentimental desire strange and unconvincing. A willingness to remain in exile while one's country is distracted by civil war is easily understandable, but why go away as far as possible? Was not France distant enough from Scotland?

35. Offerebant mihi. Buchanan, as soon appears, is now talking of the year 1547, as these offers are supposed to be simultaneous with the invitation to Portugal. The years 1545, 1546 are simply passed over with habitual disregard of chronology.

35. Abbas Iveriaci. Jean de Luxembourg, abbé d'Ivry, to whom Buchanan dedicated the Medea (Paris 1544, 12mo, published by ¹ Vascosan). He was Bishop of Pamiers near Toulouse 1540-8, and possibly Buchanan's presence in Toulouse in 1544 ² may be explained by a visit to this generous patron. (In the Franciscanus Buchanan mentions 'antiquae felicia rura Tholosae' - v.488).

36. in Vasconibus item. Gascony is regarded as a distinct entity, separate from France, strictly so called. At the University of ³ Toulouse, for instance, Gascons and French formed separate 'nations!'

¹ In Lent 1544 Buchanan was lodging with Vascosan, in the Rue St. Jacques -- possibly seeing his book through the press.

² This fact is known by a casual reference (Hist. i.11e).

³ Christie, Life of Etienne Dolet, p.95.

36. *Episcopi Tarbellensis et Condomensis*. The Bishop of Tarbes in 1547 was Louis de Castelnau, brother of Antoine de Castelnau his predecessor in the same see, and nephew of Charles de Grammont, Archbishop of Bordeaux 1530-44. He held the see from 1539 to 1549 when he died.

The Bishop of Condom in the same year was Charles de Pisseleu, elect of Mende. He was appointed to the see of Condom in 1544, and died there in 1564.

36. *Card. Lotharing*. Jean, Cardinal de Lorraine (1498-1550), third son of René II, Duke of Lorraine and brother of Claude, first Duke of Guise. He was a notorious pluralist.¹ He is referred to by Buchanan elsewhere (Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem v.51)

36. *Card. Guiriacensis*. This appears to be Charles,² Cardinal de Lorraine (1524-74), Archbishop of Rheims 1549-51, second son of Claude, Duke of Guise, and thus nephew of Jean, Cardinal de Lorraine. This is the Cardinal later so savagely satirized by Buchanan.

In view of Buchanan's later hostility to the house of Guise³ it is curious that they were his patrons at this date. But in 1547 the Guises were not the foremost champions of Catholicism in France as they became later, while Buchanan had not yet broken with the Church.

¹ His benefices included the sees of Metz, Toul, Térouanne, Valence, Die, Verdun, Alby, Macon, Agen, Nantes and the three archbishoprics of Narbonne, Rheims, Lyons -- besides numerous abbeys! (C.M.H.i.659)

² Louis (†1578), third son of Claude, Duke of Guise, was known as the Cardinal de Guise, but he was not raised to the cardinalate till 1553. (The above details are largely taken from Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica).

³ Besides the Satire, see such poems as Ep.ii. Icones 22, 23 and the reference to the 'tyrannis Guisiana' (Vita).

36.Franciae Cancellarius. François Olivier, who was Chancellor from 1545 to 1551. He was a moderate statesman and a patron of letters, and had a brother who was a Protestant. Olivier died in 1566.

Buchanan addressed two poems to him -- Silvae iv (a request for aid in the name of the Collège de Guyenne) and Misc. iv (a subsequent poem of thanks).

36.Lo. Gagnei. Jean de Gagni (†1549), a French theologian and writer was a protégé of Jean, Cardinal de Lorraine.

36.Lazari Bayfii. Lazare de Baif (†1547), French scholar and diplomatist. Jean Antoine de Baif, his natural son, was a poet-- one of the famous Pleiad. Jean Antoine was also a pupil of Charles Estienne to whom Buchanan refers (Eleg. iv) as his medical attendant during his serious illness in 1544.

36.aliquot menses. Probably, one would think, in the year 1546.

36.ut ... abessem. I have before expressed my scepticism of this motive, and Buchanan's enumeration of the golden offers made to

him makes his Portuguese journey seem 'curio~~s~~er and curio~~s~~er'.

The explanation given in the Vita has, however, some plausibility --

'For when he saw that all Europe was already ablaze with foreign or civil war or soon would be, he perceived that that one corner (viz. Portugal) would be free from troubles, and considered that in the company which had undertaken the expedition, he would not be a stranger, but move among relatives and friends.'

36. *pacem cum Anglis factam.* A reference to the Treaty of Boulogne signed on 24 March 1550 and proclaimed at Edinburgh the following month.

36. *Superiore ergo illo triennio.* i.e. from Lent 1538 to Easter 1541.

36. *iuvenilis aetatis.* Buchanan was 32 to 35 years old at this time.

36. *poenitentiam ... 1544.* A reference to the alleged Bull of Paul III -- see Appendix 4.

37. *Novem vero posteriores annos.* From Easter 1541 to the present time -- i.e. September 1550.

38. *quadriennio ... venissem.* This refers to the years 1543-7, spent by Buchanan at Paris.

38. *pauci ... Lutetiae.* For Buchanan's acquaintance at Paris see above p.124.

38. regressus ... impetrata. References to the Bull of 1544.

38. tum promulgatis indulgentiis. *These charges were apparently considered of little importance.*

39. de Lusitanicis peccatis. The most serious charges of this nature were eating meat in Lent 1547 and Lent 1550 and criticism of the Jesuits. A few other charges were made by witnesses examined in Portugal. Manoel de Mesquita, Clerk to the Royal College, said 'that he had heard a relation of Teive say that a certain Countess or Duchess, abroad, in the Lutheran country, had sent for Teive and Buchanan, and had remitted money for their travelling expenses, with an allowance of 500 crusados for each of them'. He also claimed to have seen Buchanan playing bowls and eating and drinking before Mass.

Antonio de Cabedo, nephew of the Bishop of Tangier, deposed that about two years before (i.e. in 1548) he had borrowed from Buchanan a book of verses to copy some lines the poet had written upon one of the Psalms of David. In the book he found the following lines, in a handwriting he could not identify:--

Vix datus est tumulus : Codrum si rere fuisse
Forte Lutheranum fallere : pauper erat.

The witness supplied a translation of this sentiment (Henriques p.xvii).

¹ See Appendix 1.

² See Appendix 7.

³ These lines are the closing couplet of Fratres Fratrum xxxii. I have written the text as in the standard version.

It will be noted that Buchanan was not questioned on the allegations of Mesquita and Cabedo ; so these charges were apparently considered of little importance.

39.quae in Gallia ... dicuntur. These charges were more serious, being those alleged in evidence by Pinheiro and others.

39.ubi ... exercentur. French tribunals had a well-merited reputation for severity. Since 1538 in particular Francis I had strictly repressed the Reformers.

40.multa ... habent. Buchanan refers to such jests as his remarks to Pinheiro and others on the ceremonies of the Church. 'Dicta quaedam oblique in monachos obiecta, quae apud neminem nisi monachum criminosa videri poterant' (Vita). In the Spanish peninsula the influence of the Inquisition was extremely adverse to freedom of speech in ordinary conversation.

40.In Britannia vero. Buchanan now deals with the events of 1538 and 1539.

40.Vos ... capta. This sentence deserves special notice as one of the most eloquent and elegant in the Defence.

40.iuventa. Buchanan was 33 when he left England, but in classical usage 'youth' covers the period from twenty to forty or thereabouts.

41.male institutum. This trenchant criticism by Buchanan of his own education is worth noticing. He remarks elsewhere that he was sent to St. Andrews 'ad Ioannem Maiorem audiendum, qui tum¹ ibi dialecticen, aut verius sophisticen, in extrema senectute docebat' (Vita).

41.in nullius ... iurandum. A reminiscence of Horace's 'nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri' (Ep.I.i.14).

41.cum Lutherani. In this sentence Buchanan is apparently thinking, mainly at least, of his stay in England in 1539 -- a period which, on his own admission, influenced him greatly. The implied criticism of Catholic inertia and weakness in defending their² position should be noticed.

42.postquam ... arripui. See above p.24.

¹ Yet Mair lived for twenty-seven years longer!

² Something doubtless could be argued in defence of this inertia. Coulton notes that the orthodox often considered public argument with heretics inexpedient and dangerous (Inquisition and Liberty pp.80ff.).

43. cur ex Anglia discederem. Buchanan's point is that if he had been a heretic he could have had a comfortable career in England. This is a rather fallacious argument, as everything would depend on the exact degree of his heresy -- e.g. in the theory of the Sacrament Henry VIII was as orthodox as the Pope himself.

Buchanan himself stresses the general uncertainty in his Vita when he refers to men of both factions being burned on the same day and in the same fire,¹ and he admits he had doubts of Henry's Headship of the Church, the expression of which would have been dangerous.

43. in Daniam. This particular connection of Buchanan with Denmark was previously unknown. Buchanan, however, corresponded with the astronomer Tycho Brahé, and James VI, when visiting Brahé at his castle of Uranienburg in 1590, saw there his tutor's portrait (Hume Brown, pp.337-8). For the alleged visit of Patrick Buchanan to Denmark c. 1568 see Appendix 1.

43. Maior amita mea. See Appendix 1. The reading of M -- amica -- should be noted for its unintentional humour!

¹ This is not an epigram, but an all but literal statement of fact. On 30 July 1540 three preachers of the New Learning were burned as heretics at Smithfield, while three of the Old Learning were at the same place hanged as traitors.

43.orba. 'Childless' or 'a widow' or very likely both. It is surely obvious from the context that she had no direct heirs.

43.provecta aetate. If still alive she must have been almost a centenarian, if not older.

43.et notae opulentiae. As Buchanan shortly describes his family as 'non adeo opulenta', they seem to have derived no benefit from their patriarchal relative's millions.

43.non ... tentassem. The inquisitors might have objected that there was no clear evidence for such attempts.

43.non ... recusassem. The argument seems to be that during the troubles in Scotland from 1542 to 1550 a Lutheran would have been tempted to return home to back his own party. This argument is at most good so far, that it shows that Buchanan was not a strong partisan on the Reformed side. It does not really prove anything more.¹

43.dum ... expecto. The inquisitors are meant to understand this as equivalent to 'till peace was restored'.

¹
I am not sure if it proves even so much. Many good Protestants preferred to remain in exile on the Continent during these years.

43. nullis certis sedibus haeream. I imagine that Buchanan is here thinking principally of the years spent at Paris (1543-7). The phrase gives some support to Hume Brown's conjecture that during this period Buchanan held no settled post ; yet for part of the time at least he certainly taught in the Cardinal's college (Evidence of Simson, quoted in Appendix 2). On the whole subject see also Appendix 4.

43. litteris pontificiis. Apparently Buchanan adopted this safeguard at a later date. At least Dr. McCrie (Life of Knox, note QQ) claims on MS. authority that an absolution was procured at Rome for George Buchanan in 1553 by the Regent Arran and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and that Patrick Buchanan was appointed tutor to the Regent's children at Paris. These curious facts as Dr. McCrie says have 'been hitherto overlooked', and have even yet not found their way into biographies.

43. simplici indulgentia. Buchanan again refers to the alleged Bull of 1544 -- see Appendix 4.

44. Orationes ad Sanctos. These words start a concluding section of miscellaneous topics (pp. 44-7).

The Reformers were altogether against such prayers ; Buchanan here adopts an intermediate position. A passage in Pinheiro's evidence ran --

'And he, Deponent, further said that, with regard to the other Portuguese who belonged to the said College, and are there still, he knows nothing more, except that Master Antonio Mendes, returning

one day from a sermon, at Bordeaux, told him that a learned man had preached that the Saints ought not to be prayed to ; but he, Deponent, does not know what his intention was'. Later Buchanan was 'examined upon the article of his Confession in which he speaks of the prayers which are offered to the Saints, if he is or was of opinion that they ought not to be offered ; he replied that it appeared to him that the Saints ought not to be asked for that which only God gives, which is the Life Eternal and the Remission of Sins, and that he had always felt that the Saints should be our intercessors with God, and that sometimes he had felt and said it was unnecessary to invoke the Saints, but to go direct to God and that he had thought that no Saint was so merciful as God, and for that reason it was that it had appeared to him that it was better to go direct to God than to the Saints'. (Fourth Examination).

In 1551 an amusing and (to modern taste) ridiculous dispute arose among the Roman Catholic divines in Scotland as to whether the Paternoster should be said to God or to the Saints. Foxe gives a witty description of the whole affair, and preserves some satirical verses it called forth (ii.720-2). See also Calderwood i.273ff.

45. 4 This sign, used also in the note, seems to signify 'etc.', as it is written in A.

45. Picturae comparatio ... surrexisse. This passage is in the original (as the facsimiles show clearly) written as a footnote with a dagger† indicating its reference to 'Picturas varias'. I have written it so in my text and translation. H and A place the passage in the text, before 'Picturas varias'. A note in A says that the passage is 'quite corrupt'.

45.cum Christo ... ostium. The reference is to John x.1 -- 'Amen, Amen, dico vobis, qui non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendat aliunde ; ille fur est, et latro' (Vulgate)¹.

45.omnis arbor ... fructum. A reminiscence of Matt. vii.19 or iii.10 -- 'omnis arbor, quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur' (Vulgate)¹.

45.resurrectio Christi. A reference to the setting of a guard on the sepulchre by the Jewish priests.

45.in Anglia vidi. During 1539. The pictures described above were apparently German prints.

45.episcopum ... Anglum. Dr. William Barlow, Prior of Bisham in Berkshire ; then in succession Bishop of St. Asaph's (1536), of St. David's (1536), of Bath and Wells (1547) and of Chichester (1559). He belonged to the Protestant wing of the episcopate, and paid two visits to Scotland as envoy of Henry VIII to try to induce James V to break with the Pope -- the first visit in 1534-5, and the second with Lord William

1

It is interesting to note that Beza's rendering of these passages is nearer the actual words inscribed on the pictures. I quote below --

'Amen, amen, dico vobis, Qui non ingreditur per ostium in caulam ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro' and 'Omnis ... arbor non ferens fructum bonum, exciditur' (Matt. iii.10).

Howard in 1536. The second visit must be referred to here. Cf. Hist. xiv.275c.

46.De imaginibus. The policy of removing supposed miraculous images was undertaken by the Reforming party of the Church of England with Cromwell's approval. On the general subject of Image-worship due to superstition see Coulton i.12, 27, 29, 51 and in particular Appendix 26.

46.tum vidi fieri. i.e. in 1539.

46.imago crucifixi. The famous 'Rood of Boxley' (Kent), a jointed figure of Christ whose eyes and lips were made to move by mechanical means, was publicly displayed at Maidstone 1538 and then taken to London, ridiculed and destroyed.

46.imago darvel gadezim. The 'Darvel Gadarn' (or Gatheren), a wooden statue considered in Wales to have the power of withdrawing souls from hell, was dragged to London and burnt at Smithfield.² Sheriff Guthrie was mistaken in suggesting that Buchanan was here referring to the miraculous rood of Dovercourt in Sussex.

¹ St. Darvel or Dervel was a 6th century Welsh saint, and Gadarn means 'powerful' in Welsh.

² See Foxe ii.429 who gives the date of the burning as May 1538. A discussion of the general policy of the English Government in these matters will be found in Constant pp.303ff.

46. quater in anno ... interpretaretur. A practice commended by the Injunctions of 1538.

46. De Iudaismo. Buchanan doubtless touches on this point in order to refute finally the 'fable of the paschal lamb' - see Appendix 2. He had already testified that his parents 'were old Christians' (First Examination).

46. Anabaptistarum. The Anabaptists were a sect of extremists who gained control of Münster in 1534-5 and established a kind of socialistic state with John of Leyden as prophet-king. The movement was soon suppressed. They were regarded as disreputable fanatics, and the Reformers were as keen to disown them as Socialists today are to repudiate Bolshevism. Luther, among others, attacked them strongly.

No evidence tending to identify Buchanan with Anabaptism had been given. He must, however, have been given a hint that he should dissociate himself from such views.

46. Epicureos. Buchanan was not accused of Epicureanism, but some¹ of his colleagues were, especially Teive (Evidence of Jean Talpin). It was in some ways a more serious charge than Lutheranism, as it involved what amounted to atheism and was apt to denote very lax moral views.

¹ See summary above p. vii

46. Libros vetustos. We have exact information as to the books in Buchanan's possession that were considered suspicious from the inventory made by officers of the Inquisition -- see Appendix 6. All Buchanan's books were old ; newer and more suspicious books were found in the rooms of Costa and Teive.

47. quam ut ... perlegerint. Buchanan's dictum, while possibly not without some force, would certainly not be unreservedly endorsed by modern teachers.

47. Babylonem ... in Apocalypsi ... mulierem. Rev. xvii and the following chapters. To the Reformers these were types of the Roman Church -- see Knox passim. Modern commentators agree that the author of the Apocalypse did refer to Rome -- the Rome of his time.

47. de re futura omnem interpretationem. 'Asked, with reference to that which he has said in his Confession, that all interpretation of future things in the Prophets was dangerous, if he held that all the doctors who interpreted the prophecies as to the future were dangerous or erred ; he said that many of them interpreted truly, although many erred, and that he had erred in making the proposition universal' (Fourth Examination).

47. mea manu. This, I am sure, is what Buchanan intended to write ; but it seems equally clear from the facsimiles that what (lapsu calami) he did write was 'me manu'. The mark noticed above (p.135) is apparent after the signature.

THE SECOND DEFENCE

48. *Primum ... veni.* This first period is the three years period of doubt -- Lent 1538 to Easter 1541.

48. *aliquot menses.* 21 months -- August 1539 to the end of April 1541.

48. *circiter ... 1541.* As Easter fell on April 17, the date referred to is about May Day 1541. Is it possible that Buchanan's admired ode (*Misc.* xi) can have been written to celebrate this reconciliation with the Church? Though there seems no definite evidence, this poem is frequently assigned to the time when Buchanan was at Bordeaux.

48. *si recte memini.* Buchanan's statements are inconsistent ; but despite his uncertainty here we must accept 1541 as the right date.

48. *cum ... oppugnarer.* Buchanan, as he soon shows, is thinking of the Hamiltons. He appears to dread that they are working against him. There seems to have been in reality no justification for this fear. It is possible that Hamilton prejudice may have fostered and kept alive the Scottish scandal ; but certainly the Hamiltons did nothing directly to affect the issue of Buchanan's trial.

49. non adeo opulenta. In spite of the millionaire great-great-aunt! The assertion, however, is certainly true of Buchanan's immediate family. 'Patre in iuventae robore ex dolore calculi extincto, avoque adhuc vivē decoctore, familia ante tenuis pene ad extremam inopiam est redacta' (Vita).

49. sed certe nota. See Appendix 1.

49. et factiosa. The Buchanans were true Scots, members of a nation which is 'bellicosa magis quam opulenta' (Hist. xvii.327c).

49. inimicis ... communibus. The Hamiltons, who were enemies of the Buchanans because the latter were clients of the Lennox family.

49. qui nunc est prrex. James, second Earl of Arran (later Duke of Châtelherault) and Regent of Scotland 1542-54.

49. quoties ... petiverint. Here as the phrase 'totam nostram gentem' shows Buchanan is thinking of the house of Lennox. The Lennox-Hamilton feud was due largely to their rival claims to the Scottish crown on the extinction of the Stewarts. Both houses were descended from Mary, daughter of James II, the Hamiltons in the male line. This superiority in their claim was somewhat offset by a doubt as to the legitimacy of the second Earl of Arran, who, none the less, was recognized as 'second person' in 1542. The

dynastic struggle ended in favour of the Lennoxes, who strengthened their position by marriage connections with the royal houses of England and then Scotland and finally secured the prize through James VI, grandson of the Regent Lennox.

The feud was rendered bitter by incidents such as the death of John, third Earl of Lennox, at Hamilton hands in 1526. At a later date the Regent Lennox and (according to Buchanan) Darnley were slain by Hamiltons or through their aid.

Buchanan, himself a Lennoxman, was fully conscious of this feud (see especially Hist. xviii.350b, xix.376e and his Admonitioun to the True Lords, passim) and there is no doubt it colours his history to some extent.

49. commune ... odium. So in the Vita 'ad commune religionis ^cprimen ... decurrunt'.

50. aut paulo aliter aut etiam asperius facta. Buchanan implies that he was aware of the scandals about his behaviour in 1539. Possibly he was afraid that the inquisitors might have made inquiries in Scotland ; we know now that the investigation was confined to Paris.

51. Ut in Galliam veni. This was in August 1539.
51. ad pascha proximum. This should be Easter 1540, but the date was given earlier as Easter 1541, and this is confirmed by what follows. So Buchanan has here made a careless slip.
51. in xv. diem post pascha. See above pp. 24 and 48 and notes ad loc. The date is about May 1, 1541. Gouveia, busied with his scholastic duties during term time, may have seized the opportunity of the Easter vacation to discuss Buchanan's religious difficulties with him. May 1, incidentally, was the first Sunday after the reopening of the school after Easter 1541.
51. Proximum ... tempus. From Easter 1541 to 1547.
51. et publicam. A reference to his taking the Bull in 1544.
51. et privatam. 'Private' absolution would be given when he confessed in the ordinary course.
52. quos publice offenderam. Of course this refers to the scandal of 1539 (see Appendix 2), but I have already declared my scepticism in Buchanan's repeated allegations of his constant wish to return home and clear his reputation.

52.prope sex annorum. The exact date of Buchanan's departure from France can hardly be determined, but it seems to have been in March 1547. Hence this second period is nearly six years. This is another indication that 1541, not 1540, is the true date of Buchanan's reconciliation to the Church.

52.partim Burdegalaee, partim Lutetiae. See the notes on the First Defence for discussion of these dates. Buchanan also seems to have paid a visit to Toulouse in 1544.

52.cum honoratissimo ... vixi. For Buchanan's acquaintance at Paris see above p.124. His acquaintances at Bordeaux included Briand de Vallée, a councillor of the Parlement and a friend of Rabelais, Innocent de la Fontaine, a lawyer, François de Belcier, first president of the Council, Guillaume Lur de Longa, a senator of Bordeaux -- besides, of course, his professorial colleagues. He also at this time enjoyed the friendship of Julius Caesar Scaliger,¹ who was settled at Agen, some sixty or seventy miles from Bordeaux.

¹ See the following poems -- Eleg. iii and Ep. ii.5 (addressed to de Vallée), Ep. ii.19 (mock epitaph on la Fontaine), Ep. ii.17 (epitaph on de Belcier), Ep. i.49 (addressed to Scaliger) and Hend. ix (addressed to de Longa -- see also the reference in Appendix 4 on p.174).

53. occulta invidia. A well-deserved hit against Pinheiro in particular - whom the cap fits to a T.

54. hoc quadriennium prope. Buchanan probably arrived in Portugal in April 1547¹ and we are now at 1 September 1550. The period is thus somewhat under $3\frac{1}{2}$ years -- but it was extended to almost five years before Buchanan could get clear of the 'Jejuna miserae tesqua Lusitaniae'².

54. quod per valetudinem licuit. We know, in particular, that only a few months ago -- in Lent 1550 -- Buchanan was suffering from a double tertian fever (Seventh Examination quoted above p.111). As to his dwelling-place, Buchanan seems to have stayed with Costa (Henriques in St. Andrews Memorial Volume p.63).

54. palam. A final rapier thrust at the central injustice of inquisitorial procedure -- its secrecy.

¹ We know that Buchanan was at Salamanca early in April, and one would expect that he and the rest of the professors would arrive in Portugal later in that month. The party did not go direct to Coimbra, but went first of all to Almeirim, where the Court was (Teive's Defence, quoted by Henriques p.xvii).

² This is the first (and last) line of the poem entitled 'Adventus in Galliam' (Fratres Fraterrimi xxviii).

BUCHANAN'S FAMILY

As Buchanan's genealogy has hardly received adequate attention from his biographers, and the leading authority on the subject is not particularly accessible, I consider that a genealogical tree will be useful and not out of place. My intention, however, is to state quite dogmatically what I believe to be the facts after a review of the best authorities¹ rather than to argue the several points of controversy that arise.

The tree is designed to show (1) the branch of the family to which George Buchanan belonged -- that of Drummikill and (2) the relationship of this branch to other contemporary branches of the Buchanans and in particular to the main line. Successive heads of the main line are indicated by capitals; heads of the Drummikill branch by italics.² My higher limit has been the common ancestor of all branches of the family referred to; my lower limit

¹ The leading authority is the relevant chapters of the late John Guthrie

Smith's Strathendrick and its Inhabitants from Early Times (Glasgow 1896) a veritable mine of information on genealogical and topographical matters. The material it contains in so far as it is directly relevant to Buchanan is collected in a conveniently condensed form in the G.Q.S. See the List of Charters and other Documents (pp.524ff.) and the article by A.W.Gray Buchanan 'A Genealogical Note' pp.346ff. An article of similar nature in the St. Andrews Memorial Volume ('Some Notes on Buchanan's Ancestry', by Sir Archibald C. Laurie, LL.D.) is of less value.

The oldest genealogical authority is William Buchanan of Auchmar's Historical and Genealogical Essay upon the family and surname of Buchanan (Glasgow 1723) -- a work I have consulted with great interest. The matter is, however, not well presented, and there are unfortunately errors in the genealogy of the Drummikill branch, which

have misled the biographers, who have generally followed Auchmar.
 2 In both cases I include those who would have held the position
 in question but for premature death.

the date of George Buchanan's death. I have also inserted (what strictly speaking is out of place) some entries relating to the Heriots of Trabroun, the family of Buchanan's mother. I hope that otherwise the table is self-explanatory. The notes now appended (which refer to the tree) are intended to discuss a few doubtful points and to add a little information on some of the more interesting of Buchanan's relatives.

Notes

- ¹ There is reason to believe that Sir Walter's children were not by this Isobel but by a former wife (who cannot now be identified). This disposes of Buchanan's alleged direct descent from the House of Lennox.
- ² Maurice went to France as treasurer to Margaret, daughter of James I and wife of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. He has been credited with the authorship of the Book of Pluscarden, and the 'epitaphial poem' (so referred to by Buchanan himself Hist. x.195c) on the premature death of the Princess which is contained in that work.
- ³ Known as the 'King of Kippen' from the well-known anecdote of his meeting with James V.
- ⁴ Daughter of the blind poet Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586) and sister to Secretary Lethington, Lord Thirlstane and Thomas Maitland, an interlocutor in Buchanan's De Jure Regni.
- ⁵ Patrick was also a scholar, like his more famous brother. His name appears next that of George in the list of these incorporated in Paedagogio at St. Andrews in 1525 and also in the list of those who determined in the second class later in the same year (in October). According to the present Records, he succeeded George in his post at the Scottish Court in 1539. He was appointed in 1542 Preceptor of the Hospital of St. Leonard's near Peebles, and had a gift of the Deanery of Dunbar. In 1547 he accompanied his brother to Coimbra, but, apparently escaped persecution by leaving for Paris soon after Andre de Gouveia's death in 1548.

Little else is known of Patrick's career, and the date of his death is uncertain, though that he predeceased George is proved by Ep.ii.23. (See however p.134).

Buchanan of Auchmar says Patrick was sent to Denmark in 1568-9 as an envoy to demand Bothwell's extradition. He confuses Patrick with his nephew, Thomas of Ibert (see below).

⁶ Buchanan's three sisters were all alive in 1550 (see the First Examination quoted on p.55). According to an old authority, they were (1) 'the Lady Bonull' (Lindsay) (2) 'the Lady Ballikinrain' (Napier) and (3) 'the Lady Knokdory'.

⁷ Mr. Thomas of Ibert was Buchanan's successor as Keeper of the Privy Seal and was dispatched as an envoy to Denmark in 1568-9 to secure Bothwell's extradition. He died before his uncle, and his widow 'Jonet' is appointed executrix in George Buchanan's will.

Another Mr. Thomas (c.1520-99), the fifth son of George's brother Thomas, was (along with the Melvilles) one of Buchanan's last visitors. He was in succession Regent in St. Salvator's College, Joint-Rector of the High School, Edinburgh and Master of the Grammar School, Stirling. Then he was presented by James VI to the Provostry of Kirkheuch, with which was joined the parish of Ceres. He was twice married, and left a daughter. His first wife, incidentally, was the widow of Mr. Robert Hamilton, a brother of Archibald the Apostate, Buchanan's enemy.

⁸ The founder of Heriot's Hospital.

It may have been noticed that I have been unable to identify the Danish great-great-aunt of Buchanan. I feel satisfied, however, that she could not have been a Buchanan herself; she was possibly a Hay or a relative on the Heriot side. It is possible that Manoel de Mesquita's story of a titled benefactress (see p.129) refers to this very lady.

GEORGE BUCHANAN'S FAMILY TREE

SIR WALTER II, 11th Laird, fl. c. 1364

SIR WALTER III = Isabel, d. of Murdoch,
Duke of Albany and
Isabel, Countess of
Lennox
† before 1452

Sir Alexander
† at Verneuil 1424
s.p.

John = Janet,
Heiress of Leny
↓
(LENY)

Daughters

PATRICK = Janet Cunningham
† c. 1474

Maurice²

Thomas, 1st of Drumminhill = Janet

WALTER IV
† 1526

Patrick

James Heriot of Halhoun

Robert, 2nd of D. = Margaret Hay of
Dullivairdis
† c. 1518

Thomas
↓
(CARBETH)

Walter

PATRICK
† before 1503

John³
† at Pinkie
1547
↓
(ARNYPOR)

Maurice

Walter
↓
(SPITTAL)

Daughters

James
† 1522

Andrew
† 1531

Agnes = Thomas, † c. 1513

John
↓
(CAMERON)

GEORGE
† 1561

Walter

James = Margaret⁴
Maitland

George

Robert, 4th of D.
† before 1525

Thomas
† before
1544

Alexander of Dist
† 1574

Patrick⁵
† s.p.

Mr GEORGE
1506-82

Daughters⁶

JOHN
† v.p.
↓

Daughter

William
↓
(AUCHMAR)

George
† 1610

George⁸
1563-1624

Thomas
† young

{ Issue of Sons;
the second
continued the line
of Drumminhill }

Mr Thomas⁷
† before 1582
s.m.f.

John
↓
(BALLOCHRUICK)

2.

BUCHANAN AND THE SCOTTISH PERSECUTION OF 1539

Because of the flood of new light shed by the present documents on this hitherto obscure episode in Buchanan's life, the whole matter is worthy of continuous discussion here. The material for such discussion, so far as relates to Buchanan's own story as given in the Lisbon Records, will be found on earlier pages. The Records, however, contain also other material in the stories of the witnesses examined at Paris in 1548, four of whom give some details of Buchanan's experiences in Scotland. All this material must be tested by the historic facts of the persecution before we can attempt to deal adequately with the main question -- i.e. what really happened to Buchanan at this time?

The Story Current at Paris in 1548

Taking the witnesses in order of appearance, we find that Pinheiro tells the story thus :--

'And he, Deponent, heard many people say that the said Buchanan, when tutor to a Prince in Scotland, had been accused with five others of having eaten the Passover Lamb, after the manner of the Jews, and the five were burned for it ; and he fled, and was burned in effigy, in the Kingdom of Scotland. And this he, Deponent, also heard from the said Doctor de Gouveia, who had learned it from a Scot a Doctor of the Sorbonne College,¹ who had also told him that Buchanan, when at the College used to eat meat in Lent.'²

¹ Clearly Simon Simson.

² Henriques p.15.

Diogo de Gouveia's version runs as follows:--

'As regards Master George, the Scotsman, who is in the College at Coimbra, Deponent heard say that he had fled from Scotland because he was a heretic and a Jew, who said that he might partake of the Passover Lamb ; and five others, who were with him in this heresy, were all burned alive. But, because the said Master was tutor to a son of the King of Scotland, a house was assigned to him as a prison from which he escaped, and came, about six or seven years ago,¹ to this City, where the Cardinal of Scotland, who was ambassador here, wished to have him captured ; but another Scotsman saved him. And from here he went to Bordeaux, and from there² to Portugal.'³

Ferrerius' story I give translated from the original Latin. I should say that whether owing to the ignorance of the Registrar or some other cause the text seems very corrupt, but the general sense is clear. It will be noted that Ferrerius' Story is not only fuller but differs in some important details from the versions already given.

'John Ferrerius, master of arts, sworn as a witness by touching the Holy Gospels, deposed that he had known George Buchanan intimately before he set out for Scotland whence at a later date he fled suspect of heresy, and when he had reached Paris by way of England he lay in hiding for some considerable time because of the presence of the Most Reverend Cardinal of Scotland lest by the latter's influence he should be imprisoned ; then when he had furnished himself with travelling expenses and clothing he set out for Bordeaux. From there he came back to Paris and afterwards went away to Portugal. With regard to the charges against the said Buchanan in Scotland, as he had heard from numberless persons of the greatest credibility, the indictment of the said George was bound up with that of five who were burnt at Edinburgh, and in particular he understood that the said accused used to follow the new religion⁴ in uniting men and women, and that in this way they had married a certain woman to a priest. Moreover, in choice of meats they used to eat flesh during the whole of Lent and besides on free will and confession they adopted the new ideas.'⁵

¹ i.e. in 1541 or 1542. But the true date of Buchanan's arrival at Paris is 1539. ²Gouveia omits to note that Buchanan returned to Paris.

³ Henriques pp.15ff. Gouveia then cites his authorities (see P. xii).

⁴ novum Rictum.-- meaning clearly Lutheranism.

⁵ Translated from Henriques p.43.

Simson's account reintroduces the Jewish scandal. His evidence runs:-

'Simon Simson, doctor of sacred theology in the University of Paris, sworn as a witness by his Orders, placing his hand on his breast, deposed that he knew George Buchanan at Paris. He afterwards went to Scotland where he had the King's sons to educate and while he was tutoring the aforesaid sons the story goes that he with other five men since burnt in Scotland had eaten the paschal lamb before Easter. This deed came to the ears of the King who gave him in custody to an officer from whose house Buchanan departed secretly by night and betook himself to England where he remained for some time. At last he reached Paris where he acted as Regent in the Cardinal's College! These matters Simson had heard from the Scots, and he said nothing else.'²

The Persecution of 1539

The principal victims of the persecution were the five who were burnt alive on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, on 1 March 1539.³ The martyrs were John Kyllour and John Beverage, Black friars, Sir Duncan Simson, a priest of Stirling, Robert Forrester, a gentleman of the same town and perhaps most interesting of all -- Dean Thomas⁴ Forret, Canon Regular and Vicar of Dollar. All were brought to trial at the instance of Cardinal Betoun and William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane.

¹This was after 1543 (see p.121). Simson ignores Buchanan's stay at Bordeaux.

²Translated from Henriques p.43.

³The authorities I have drawn my facts from are Knox, Foxe, Calderwood and later writers such as Keith. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials and the appendices in Laing's edition of Knox's History are useful collections of material. The date of execution is often given as 'the last of February' but Pitcairn fixes the date as 1st March from an entry under that date in the Household Book of James V-- 'Accusacio haereticorum et eorum combustio, apud Edinburgh REGE presente'. The king returned to Linlithgow at night.

⁴These names are found in many different forms.

The charges against them were in part common to all, in part particular. Calderwood says it was alleged that they were all heresiarchs, and that many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was Vicar of Tullibody, beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent, at the said bridal. The priest referred to was one Thomas Coklaw, whose story Calderwood has just related under the previous year. He had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, when accused before the Bishop of Dunblane, but had successfully¹ escaped to England, where he became a minister.

Kyllour had written a play on the Passion acted at Stirling before² the king on a Good Friday. In this play the Pharisees so resembled the clergy of the day as to cause great offence to the authorities. Laing considers that the play was acted in 1535 or 1536.

Of Thomas Forret we have detailed accounts in Foxe and Calderwood, repeated in convenient form in Laing i. Appendix V. Here I need only note that, like Buchanan, he was strongly influenced by St. Augustine.

With regard to the other martyrs less¹ is known, but a record quoted by Pitcairn (under date Jan. 10, 1538-9) says that 'Robert Forestare' and others named¹ found surety to underly the law ' for breking of

¹ See also references to confiscation of Coklaw's property (Acts of the Lords of Council pp.482,484 under date Feb.23,1539-40).

² James V usually spent Easter at Stirling, as is indicated by the entries in the Treasurer's Accounts relating to the distribution of alms on Skyre - Thursday.

his hienes Proclamationes, in haifing and using of sic BUKES as are suspect of HERESY, and ar defendit (prohibited) by the KIRK'.

The five martyrs, however, were only the most conspicuous sufferers in the present persecution. Buchanan tells us that nine recanted, and many fled.² The names of certain persons in both classes can be gathered from the histories of the time.

The Special Case of Buchanan.

Buchanan's account of his experiences is given in more detail than anywhere else in the First Defence and is amplified in certain important respects by the passages from the Second and Fourth Examinations that are quoted in the commentary on pp.69ff. It is unnecessary to repeat Buchanan's version of these incidents; but we must consider what really happened, disentangling the truth from the two main threads of the story of Buchanan and the rumours current against him with the help of the acknowledged historical facts about this persecution detailed above.³

First I propose to review closely the Parisian story, which I have given above in four versions. It embodies the following distinct

¹ Among those mentioned we find Walter Cowsland, merchant at Stirling, and James Watson, merchant, who 'burnt their faggots' (Calderwood i.125)

² Hist. xiv.277d (quoted on p.73).

³ A few details (differing in certain respects from those given in the Lisbon Records) will be found in the Vita and in Buchanan's History. The discrepancies will be dealt with later.

points:--

- (1) that Buchanan was tutor to a prince in Scotland;
- (2) that he was accused along with five others who were burnt;
- (3) that the common charge was one of Judaizing or of Lutheran practices;
- (4) that Buchanan fled and was burnt in effigy.

Taking these points in order -- we know of course that Buchanan was at the Scottish court as tutor to Lord James Stewart, son of the King by Elizabeth Shaw of Sauchie. There is no definite evidence to prove that Buchanan was engaged in educating any other of James's sons, though Ferrerius uses the plural.¹

Again, the coincidence of date and Buchanan's own words² make it certain that his case was connected in some manner with the five martyrs of 1 March 1539, and his peculiarly favourable treatment must be put down to the friendship of the king. Buchanan may well have been acquainted with several of the martyrs.

The third point -- the charge against Buchanan -- is the crux of the whole affair. It is clear, however, that the Passover Lamb scandal is by no means borne out by what is known of the charges

¹ As Calderwood does (i.129). It used to be supposed that the future Regent Moray was a pupil of Buchanan (as Ruddiman thought) but the dedicatory epistle to the Franciscanus proves that this was not the case.

² Hist. xiv. 277d.

against the five; and Buchanan is surely right in denouncing it as a mere fiction that may have arisen in the manner he suggests.¹ The charge is improbable in itself; Judaizing practices had no hold in Scotland. It is also to be noted that while the inquisitors naturally made inquiries about this serious charge, they seem to have soon recognized its baselessness, and Buchanan was not found guilty of Judaizing. The story is nothing but an unfounded slander, though it was apparently widespread and persistent, as will be made clear later on.

Ferrerius' account is here quite distinct, and he omits all mention of Jewish practices. His account is in substantial agreement with the principal charges against the five, as given in Calderwood and elsewhere. It is possible that Buchanan may have been accused of being at the marriage of Thomas Coklaw (who is clearly the priest Ferrerius refers to) and the charge may have been true. As to eating meat in Lent, we know from Buchanan himself that this was part of the charge against him, and he admitted the accusation. It is only fair to note, however that the five were charged with eating meat in Lent 1538 at Coklaw's bridal, and while Buchanan confessed he ate meat at that season his account of the circumstances is quite different and is such as might justify his act (see p.5 and notes ad loc.).

Ferrerius' evidence then seems to me of considerable value and true in substance; while the story as told by the other three

¹ See the First Defence p.6 and notes on the passage.

witnesses is in the most essential point quite false. It may be noticed that of the four Ferrerius was probably least prejudiced¹ against Buchanan, if not actually his friend. He may also have been of the four the one most closely acquainted with Buchanan (see p.viii).

Coming to the fourth point -- Buchanan's flight is mentioned by himself and all authorities, and is an undoubted fact. The exact circumstances fall to be considered later.

Burning in effigy is mentioned by Pinheiro alone. There is no evidence for it, and such a fact could not have passed unnoticed.² It is a simple error on Pinheiro's part or perhaps a conscious fabrication induced by prejudice, as the allegation is not confirmed by the very witnesses Pinheiro names for his authorities.

Passing now from the allegations of others to Buchanan's own story, I can see no reason for doubting its substantial truth. The development of his quarrel against the Franciscans, his differences with Lady Lochleven, his examination by the three judges he names and the action taken by the king -- all seems credible and in accordance with what we know from other sources. I wish here, however, to deal with a few possible objections to this account arising either from supposed improbabilities in the story or from apparent inconsistencies in other references by Buchanan. A few difficulties

¹ No one can doubt that Pinheiro and Gouveia were prejudiced. As for Simson, a doctor of the Sorbonne and a friend of James Laing (see below) could hardly be favourable to Buchanan.

² Buchanan himself or Calderwood (who mentions Buchanan under the year 1539) would surely have noticed it.

of this kind have already been dealt with in the commentary.¹

The most interesting question is -- Was Buchanan ever imprisoned in Scotland or not? It must be admitted that the natural interpretation of the Vita and of Buchanan's statement in his History is that he escaped from prison. Yet this conclusion is more a matter of inference than direct statement, and is based on allusions to his guards (custodes), and when asked by the inquisitors 'if he had, at any time, been a prisoner in his country, he said that he had not been' (Second Examination), and then proceeds to give the account, that is quoted on pp.69ff. According to this account, Buchanan was 'remanded in custody' and allowed to escape by the king's connivance.

I suspect that the whole dispute as to whether Buchanan was 'imprisoned' turns on the ambiguity of that term -- which as today may refer to imprisonment before or during trial (as a precaution) or imprisonment after sentence (as a punishment). Buchanan's imprisonment was of the former type, but in later years he (consciously or unconsciously) employed such language as to lead people to believe that he had been 'imprisoned' in the second sense. Here also as in the case of his experiences in Portugal Buchanan seems to have exaggerated his sufferings somewhat -- though in this case rather by an economy of truth than by direct fiction.

¹ See for instance p.70 on the relative responsibility of the Erskines and Cardinal Betoun for Buchanan's arrest as a Lutheran.

Buchanan also afterwards emphasized his own resource by omitting to mention the king's connivance in his escape. Of course it is possible that the whole story of James's relations with Buchanan is a fabrication for the benefit of the Inquisition; yet it seems to me in complete accordance with the character of the Scottish king that he should have connived at Buchanan's escape.

James was certainly an orthodox Catholic, as is indicated by the course he adopted in international politics -- his strong French sympathies and his refusal despite diplomatic pressure to follow Henry VIII's example. He is praised or blamed by partisans on both sides of the religious issue as a defender of the Church or an oppressor of the evangel. Yet his natural disposition at least was hardly that of a fanatical bigot or a relentless persecutor.¹ He was not a blind admirer of the Catholic Church, and could enjoy a jest at its expense as is indicated by his interest in the satires of Sir David Lyndsay and Buchanan. That clemency was not foreign to his nature may be judged by his action in the cases of Sir James Hamilton of Linlithgow and his sister Katharine. Sir James was warned to fly by the king, and was condemned in absence. Katharine's reasoning in her own defence gained the king's favour, and he 'called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she

¹ It is true that he might have developed in this direction had he lived longer, as did Francis I. It might be argued that James's religious policy showed signs of increasing rigour. This does not, however, invalidate my contention above.

1
 was his ant, and so she escaped' (Calderwood i.108-9 under the year 1543).

Buchanan's allegation that the king connived at his escape is then very plausible, as he did act in this way towards Sir James Hamilton. Such additional details as James's kindness to Patrick Buchanan and his interest in George's welfare are also credible, but I feel rather doubtful that Buchanan was really enlisted in the Scottish Secret Service! -- which is after all what his own story amounts to. It may be that the statement that he was a spy under the disguise of a religious refugee is a fiction devised for the benefit of the inquisitors in order to conceal the fact that he was a religious refugee. If so, one cannot but admire the ingenuity of an invention that accounted so naturally for Buchanan's bad religious reputation from a Catholic standpoint. However, it is possible that the story may be true; we cannot now expect to know for certain, but the fact that Buchanan, though leaving the country in such equivocal circumstances, was not troubled by the ecclesiastical authorities till after the king's death is, as Buchanan himself says, evidence of some share of royal favour. As in later days Buchanan told the story in a somewhat different way, passing

1 Patrick Hamilton was brother to Sir James and Katharine. His paternal grandfather was Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow who married Mary, daughter of James II. His mother was a natural daughter of Alexander Duke of Albany, son of James II. Thus on both sides he was a great-grandson of James II. Katharine Hamilton was thus strictly speaking James V's second cousin, not his aunt.

over the king's share in his escape, it is easy to understand that Knox for instance should form the idea (which I consider false) that James V was an implacable enemy to Buchanan. (Laing i. 71ff.)

I have now described the stories current about Buchanan's troubles in 1539, and have endeavoured to set over against these stories the historic truth, as far as it can be gathered. It seems not unfitting to conclude with a translated extract from a book¹ written many years later which affords a lamentable example of the longevity of slander. The author was James Laing (1502-94), a doctor of the Sorbonne and a Roman Catholic controversialist of the type of Archibald Hamilton, prepared to believe any ill of a Reformer. The passage which I am about to quote contains also a very inaccurate account of Buchanan's experiences in Portugal which I append mainly for the sake of comparison with the several accounts quoted in the introduction and as another example of the slanders of Buchanan's enemies.

Involved in this most wretched heresy, or madness (i.e. that of the Ebionites) was George Buchanan the Scot with several other heretics. He in Lent had eaten the paschal lamb, and when he was accused of heresy he was reckoned as a most wretched heretic now forty years ago, if my memory serves me, and was summoned by James V, King of Scots, a man most wise and devout, and likewise the champion of the Catholic Apostolic Roman Faith. When examined

¹ De vita et moribus atque rebus gestis haereticorum nostri temporis (Paris 1581). The reference is fo.39ff.

on the charge and asked how he had dared to attempt aught against the wont of the Catholic Church, the fellow with utter shamelessness -- being wholly ignorant of Holy Writ -- thus answered the king: 'You, sire, should likewise eat the paschal lamb, if you wish to achieve salvation'. On hearing this reply the king was silenced for the nonce and marvelled at the fellow's boldness (or rather madness), and soon he rejoined: 'George¹, I am not a theologian, but the faith in which my ancestors lived, the Faith Catholic, Apostolic, Roman, which they received from the most holy See of Rome, will I zealously champion and preserve with all my power, and as to your belief I will understand what is the opinion of the doctors of theology, whom Scotland now has in great plenty. They I know for certain have always hated heretic worse than dog or snake², because they most readily have discovered their treacherous tricks and wiles'.

Shortly afterwards the doctors of theology of St. Andrews were summoned to the Court. Among them the leader was Master John Mair, a most devout man, one highly skilled in philosophy and theology, who had already written many books that are most useful for the comprehension of these subjects. Therefore he was able to deal very readily with the question at issue. For a man usually judges best of the matters in which he is ever well exercised, as a poet testifies in his verse:

3

'Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator'.

So on the matter at issue Master John Mair thus answered the king; 'Whosoever says, Most Christian King, that you should eat the paschal lamb, he would wish you to become a Jew or to live as the Jews do, who say that Christ has not yet come, nor was born of the Virgin Mary. For the paschal lamb is a ceremony, as doctors of theology term it; but every ceremony, Christ having already suffered, was dead, which also the Apostle appears to say clearly enough in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians "For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law" and soon after "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision"⁴. But George Buchanan, convicted of such a crime unprecedented and unknown before, secretly fled while his companions were taken and burnt; else he would have suffered with them.

Then he set out for Portugal, where he was taken and accused as a heretic, and would have been lost had he not sought safety by speedy flight. Finally at Paris after he had lunched with many Scots and

¹ The familiar address (even when the king is represented as rebuking Buchanan) shows that Laing knew that Buchanan was on the most intimate terms with his sovereign.

² A favourite simile of Laing.

³ Prop. III. 43

⁴ Gal. v. 6. I may state that the printed text of Laing is very inaccurate here, but it is obvious he is quoting the Vulgate.

Germans in^a certain Frenchman's house, and God was being thanked, that heretic neither bared his head nor showed any mark of reverence, but stood immovable as a stone, while all present shouted that he was openly a heretic and kept styling him a bringer of ruin and loss, the bane of the state and the corruptor of youth, who should be crushed with stones, or burnt with blazing flames, or plunged into seething waters. I myself was present, and saw all these scandalous deeds.

¹ It is perhaps superfluous to mention that in view of the whole tone of the passage (and indeed of the book) we cannot believe a word Laing says without corroboration. If anyone doubts this, let him look at the indecent and incredible allegation in the next sentence which I have forbore to quote. I may note here that Laing (fo.45) has two other references of some interest to us. One is a reference to James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews (later the Regent Moray) as a man whom Buchanan had infected with his own heresy -- an idea probably based on the misconception that he had been Buchanan's pupil. The other reference is an incidental mention of 'Symson', a Scots doctor of theology resident in Paris, who is described as a devout and learned man.

3.
THE BAPTISTES AND ITS INTERPRETATION

In form this play of Buchanan is a Senecan tragedy on the story of the death of St. John the Baptist as recounted by the evangelists¹ Matthew and Mark, and it seems admirably conceived to fulfil its professed object -- the delectation and edification of the youth of Bordeaux. But it has always been considered that the play, like Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel' has reference to contemporary history; and this is almost stated by Buchanan in so many words in the Prologue.² The problem of the Baptistes is the identification of the principal characters, and Buchanan himself in the First Defence (see p.30) suggests a hitherto unconsidered solution.

The characters of the play are in order of appearance the Rabbis Malchus and Gamaliel, Herodias, Herod Antipas, John himself, the unnamed 'puella', daughter of Herodias, and finally a messenger who tells the story of John's death. The Chorus of Jews is throughout sympathetic to John. Malchus and Gamaliel are figures of Buchanan's

¹ Matthew xiv.3-12, Mark vi. 17-28.

² See the passage:-- Porro vocare fabulam veterem aut novam/Per me licebit cuique pro arbitrio suo / Nam si vetusta est ante multa secula / Res gesta, veteres inter haec censebitur: / Sin quod recenti memoria viget, novum / Existimemus, haec erit prorsus nova. / Nam doned hominum genus erit, semper novae / Fraudes novaeque suppetunt calumniae: / Livorque semper improbus premet probos; / Vis iura vincet, fucus innocentiam.

invention, and should therefore help us in the search for their contemporary types. Gamaliel is a moderate man, pleading for leniency to John and conscious of the faults of his order. Malchus (who is apparently the high priest) is of a more violent nature and desires to suppress John by enlisting the aid of the secular power. At a later stage in the play, however, he begins to question the wisdom of this course from the point of view of his own safety, and tries to engineer a rapprochement with John. This attempt naturally breaks down hopelessly, and in revenge he induces Herodias (who is ready enough on her own account) to plot against John.¹

Before the publication of the Lisbon documents when interpreters had no external evidence to guide them it was assumed with complete confidence that John represented a Protestant reformer, in which case Herod and Herodias are presumably Catholic sovereigns. On this view the play is a kind of Protestant manifesto. It is not surprising that this view was so widely adopted, for John the Baptist is depicted as a young reformer. We know also that James Wedderburn, a native of Dundee, did about this time write a play² on the same subject satirizing the corruption of religion; so the idea was certainly in the air.

¹ To make clear the attitude of Malchus and Gamaliel I have summarized certain scenes, but I consider it unnecessary to summarize the whole play in detail. Readers who would like such a summary can consult Prof. Mirmont's article -- to be hereinafter cited.

² See Calderwood i.141ff. where he gives an account of the interesting family of the Wedderburns. The play was acted at the West Port of Dundee.

It should also be noted that Friar Kyllour, one of the martyrs of 1539, wrote a play on the Passion of Christ that was interpreted in an anti-Catholic sense (see Appendix 2).

However, the unanimity of interpreters on this line soon disappears when they come down to definite names, and it seems impossible to get a sequence of historical events that even approximately fits the dramatic story. The rival elucidators search for the persons of the drama in Scotland or in France or rather improbably derive some characters from one country, some from the other.

Professor H. de la Ville de Mirmont suggests the following equations.¹ John = Patrick Hamilton, Herod = James V, Herodias = Mary of Lorraine and Malchus = Cardinal Betoun. Gamaliel he considers to resemble the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Charles de Grammont.² But, however happy some of these identifications may appear in themselves, the totality is clearly defective. Neither the Scottish Herod nor the Scottish Herodias had anything to do with Hamilton's death in 1528, and the relations between James V and his wife exhibit no analogy to those between Herod and Herodias.

While the French scholar finds the key to the play in Scotland,³ Professor Hume Brown looks for it in France. To him Herod is a type of Francis I and Herodias of the Queen-Mother Louise of Savoy -- an idea open to the objection expressed above. John is 'any fiery

¹ In an article entitled 'Les Tragédies Religieuses de Buchanan' (St. Andrews Memorial Volume, pp.115-29).

² On this theory I would suggest a Scottish prelate as e.g. Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, whom Buchanan admired (see Ep.1.43) and who was relatively lenient to heresy.

³ pp.121-5. Dr. Macmillan discusses the question on p.85 of his biography of Buchanan.

reformer' (Berquin, for example)'. Malchus 'undoubtedly stood in Buchanan's mind for his own relentless pursuer, Cardinal Beaton'. Dr. Macmillan, while following Hume Brown in general, suggests Luther as the original of the Baptist. But here again the resemblances in so far as they exist are merely individual; there is no true parallelism between the historical situation and the dramatic one.

Buchanan himself however in the First Defence suggests an entirely different line of interpretation. Judaea is a type of England, Herod of Henry VIII, Herodias of Anne Boleyn and John of Sir Thomas More. As for Malchus and Gamaliel, it seems that these figures must represent Cromwell and Cranmer respectively, as is suggested¹ in an interesting note in the St. Andrews Memorial Volume p.395. There is certainly no parallel to the unnamed puella in the English situation, but after all we cannot expect a fully complete parallelism in these historical comparisons, as Buchanan himself seems to suggest (see the phrase 'in qua quantum materiae similitudo patiebatur').

On this interpretation the political significance far outweighs the religious, and the play, topically considered, is not an attack on the Catholic Church but an attack on the tyranny of Henry VIII. Herod rather than Malchus is the true villain of the piece.

¹ The fact that Malchus is spoken of as the high priest does not necessarily, I think, invalidate the identification suggested. Cromwell, though a layman, was the king's vicar-general in spiritual matters from 1535 on, took precedence over archbishops and bishops, and enjoyed a position unique in English history (Constant p.297).

It seems necessary, however, to raise the question of how far this new interpretation of the Baptistes can be regarded as correct. There are undeniably certain difficulties in identifying John and Sir Thomas More, and it is conceivable that Buchanan's statement¹ might be only a clever fraud for the benefit of the inquisitors.

In favour of the English theory we may note:--

(1) The mutual relations existing between Henry, Anne and More do show a parallelism to those between the corresponding figures in the play -- a condition no other identification fulfils. Henry's marriage with Anne was of uncertain validity as that of Herod and Herodias;² More disapproved of the one marriage as John of the other,³ and the death of both was due in a sense⁴ to their opposition; both were imprisoned for a considerable time,⁴ and there is at least some evidence to prove that the death of More was in popular estimation largely due to Anne's hostility and her influence with the king.⁵ There also seem a few special references throughout the Baptistes which suit the suggested identifications -- e.g. Herod is described as the great-grandson of the half-Arab Antipater just as Henry VIII was the great-grandson of the Welsh Owen Tudor.

¹ An idea adumbrated in G.Q.S. p.71.

² Curiously the cases are opposite in detail -- for Henry's main reason for arguing that his first marriage was invalid was that a marriage with a brother's wife was null by Divine Law even if papal dispensation had been granted; but I consider the general similarity sufficient.

³ More's death was due directly to his disapproval of the legislation rendered necessary by Henry's second marriage.⁴ A year in each case.

⁵ Some of this evidence is detailed later.

(2) The comparison of Henry and Anne to Herod and Herodias was in the air at the time, though Fisher rather than More was usually compared to John the Baptist. The Bishop of Rochester had indeed in 1529 drawn the comparison himself, and provoked Henry to a violent reply (Constant pp.204ff.). The anecdote that Anne Boleyn ordered the Bishop's head to be brought before her is also significant, whether true or not,¹ as it indicates that the people considered Anne a second Herodias. The comparison is succinctly made in the following passage:--

'Et a nonnullis comparatur Joanni Baptistae; amobus enim fuit commune nomen, amobus eadem sors et casus, qui capite truncati pro veritate et iustitia similiter occubuerunt; utrobique ab adulteris iustus occiditur utrobique odium peperit veritas, nec potuit aequo animo tolerari quod homo Dei sanctus monebat'²

In the case of Sir Thomas More, with whom we are more particularly concerned, the above general points of resemblance may also be observed. It was, moreover, commonly thought that Anne had an important share in instigating Henry to put More to death. For example, the king is said to have received the news when playing at dice, and to have got up suddenly and, saying to Anne 'You are the cause of that man's death' to have retired to another room to weep.³ Whether such stories are literally true or not, they are none the less significant; but in actual fact we know that Cranmer

¹ See Constant p.223 -- a passage well worth referring to.

² This passage is quoted by Constant from the life of Fisher in the Vitae et res gestae Pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium, by Chaeum and Oldoin, Rome 1677.

³ This -- with another similar anecdote -- is mentioned by Constant p.253. It rests ultimately on the authority of Stapleton.

tried to save More by getting the Oath of Supremacy modified so that More could take it, and that Henry refused such modification, 'influenced possibly by Anne Boleyn and Cromwell' (Constant p.243). All this agrees excellently, mutatis mutandis, with the action of the Baptistes.

The main objection to the new theory is, I suppose, that John is represented as a reformer in matters of religion, Malchus being the traditionalist -- an opposition that rather reverses the roles of More and Cromwell. I believe, however, that any discrepancy on this head must be accounted for through the radical defect of all historical parallels -- namely, that the parallelism is never complete in every detail. Moreover, however little Sir Thomas More, statesman and Chancellor of England, may seem to resemble the young and fiery prophet of the wilderness, there are certain touches in Buchanan's references to the Baptist that would fit More. The description of John as a Levite, dedicated to God, who might have been a priest himself but for his untimely ambition, may refer to the fact that More had in earlier life thoughts of becoming a Franciscan and a priest, and the tone of the last remarks of the Baptist is not unlike those attributed to Sir Thomas More.

My conclusion is then in favour of accepting the new interpretation of the Baptistes which incidentally removes the difficulty felt by Hume Brown¹ about the representation of such a play at Bordeaux in 1540.

¹ See p.123.

A drama depicting in a sympathetic manner the death of More would be quite acceptable on the Continent, where his execution produced almost universal protests. This interpretation is also in accord with my conception of Buchanan's religious attitude at the time, and to my mind the fact that others had thought of comparing the events in England to the story of John the Baptist is very important corroborative evidence. It may be remembered that Dryden's satire 'Absalom and Achitophel' is also based on an already current historical resemblance.

When the play was finally published in 1578, however, conditions had changed and Buchanan was a Protestant. I imagine he did not wish his work to disappear from view, and judged that its original topical significance would not be perceived (as it has not been to this day) and the play would be interpreted in purely general terms as an attack on tyranny. This idea seems suggested by the epistolary dedication to James VI to whom he doubtless hoped that the action of the play would convey a salutary warning. It is certain at any rate that if Buchanan ever had the idea of representing under the guise of Herodias' daughter what would be the probable character of a daughter of Anne Boleyn -- which I doubt -- he must have felt confident that Elizabeth would never guess the secret. He would surely have suppressed the work altogether if he had thought that Elizabeth might have recognized her own mother in Herodias.

I consider the question of the exact date of this alleged bull later.

THE SILENT YEARS -- 1543-7.

Buchanan in his Vita as Ruddiman was perplexed to note passes without remark over these years. His reasons for such action will be considered later. The information given in the Lisbon Records combined with what was already known does, however, raise the veil to a considerable extent, as I hope now to show.

The date that Buchanan left Bordeaux is stated by himself as 'sub finem anni 1543' -- which might perhaps mean about September. This makes his stay in Bordeaux longer than had been supposed, but is not inconsistent with certain indications (see pp.117ff.). The date when he left France for Portugal is apparently March 1547. The intervening period -- spent at Paris, as Buchanan assures us -- is thus about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. It was already surmised and is now confirmed that Buchanan for at least part of this period was on the staff of the Cardinal's College at Paris.

During these years -- in 1543 or 1544 -- Buchanan claims he took¹ advantage of a general pardon issued by Pope Paul III. The inquisitors made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to trace this Bull. As the matter is one of some importance, and Buchanan's story shows divergences in detail, I here insert the relevant passages from the Lisbon Records.

¹ I consider the question of the exact date of this alleged Bull later.

The alleged Bull was referred to by Buchanan in his First Defence (see pp. 36, 38, 43 ; also the Second Defence p.51) and no cross-examination on this topic took place for some considerable time. But finally we read as follows:--

'On the twelfth¹ day of December, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the houses called "Estaos", Senhor Doctor Ambrosius Campello being there ordered Master George Buchanan to come before him and by oath upon the Holy Gospels, asked him if he had taken the Jubilee² Bull which came to France, of which he speaks in his Confession. He said, yes ; that he had gained it, and that, at the time, he was at Paris, in the house of Michael Vascosano, printer, and that he thinks it was in the year 1543³, in the middle of Lent, and that it was granted by Pope Paul III, and it was to the effect that people should confess and fast three days, and take the Most Holy Sacrament, and that it granted Plenary Indulgence for all crimes of Heresy which it expressly mentioned; and that he fulfilled all that was contained in the Bull, and gained it. Asked if he had any person who could bear witness that he had gained this Bull of Indulgence, he said that he had not. Asked who had confessed him on that occasion, he said that it was a friar of St. Francis, whose name he does not know, and that he absolved him, that he was a man already aged, a Frenchman, who confessed him by order of the Guardian; and that he does not know if he is still alive, nor what part of France he came from. And the Bull was addressed to the Prelates and Curates of these Kingdoms. And that he thinks the said Bull was directed generally to other Kingdoms. And that, at the time when it came, when he was fasting the days which were prescribed in it, it happened that a gentleman, named Monsieur de Byrom,⁴ invited him to sup with him, on a certain day, but he

¹ 'eighth' in Henriques but the Portuguese gives text as above. M reads as the text.

² Buchanan does not give the Bull this epithet.

³ year 543 H M : anno de quynhentos e corenta e tres Portuguese text as given by Henriques. Either Henriques has made an omission in transcribing, or the notary has made a curious mistake.

⁴ Possibly Arnaud de Gontaut, Baron (later Duc) de Biron, Marshal of France, later a supporter of Henry of Navarre (c.1524-92). Biron is a village in the district of Perigord, distant some 60 miles from Bordeaux.

excused himself from supping, saying that he was fasting in order to gain the Bull. And that this was at Paris, in the Rue Saint Jacques.¹ And that the said gentleman was a native of the place called Perigord, and of the village of Birom, which belonged to him. And, at that time, there was with him a Monsieur de Longa,² a Judge of the Court of Appeal at Bordeaux. And that he thinks they are both of them now at the Court of France, and that he does not know any one who may have a copy of this Bull. And that the Ordinaries ought to have it. And he said nothing more. I, Paulo da Costa, wrote it, and crossed it "a banquet" and "the Friar who confessed him was at the College of St. Francis near the Porte Saint Germain". And he said that, after he gained the Bull, he never again felt any burthen upon his conscience arising from anything he did afterwards against the Faith of Our Lord. And he said nothing more.' (Eighth Examination).

Later we find that Buchanan 'was further informed by the said Master Priest, Inquisitor,³ with regard to a General Pardon granted in France to those who had erred from the Faith, in a certain form and manner, and which he says was published in the year 1544, that, as the Inquisitors of this Kingdom have no authentic cognisance of it, it may delay the conclusion of his business, and, consequently, cause him to be kept in prison for a longer period. Therefore it was necessary that he should give more details of the said Brief, for which purpose I⁴ swore him upon the Holy Gospels. And he, Master George Buchanan, upon his said oath, stated that it was true that, in the year, the Brief which he has referred to was published in France. And being asked if the said Brief spoke of anything else besides in foro consciencie, and if it said that the Confessor might absolve him in foro Dei et in foro contentioso,⁵ so that never afterwards might any court proceed against him; he replied that he did not know, nor did he avail himself, in any way, of the said Brief in France, except to obtain absolution in his conscience, and to become reconciled to Our Lord, for which purpose, and to make it manifest, it was that he had mentioned the said Brief, and for no other purpose. Consequently he had declared that he did not desire to employ the said Brief in his defence, because,

¹ One of the principal streets of Paris. If Buchanan is inventing all this, he is taking some pains to be consistent; for Vascosan's address was in the Rue St. Jacques, at the sign of the Fountain.

² See p.144. These names are given very incorrectly in M.

³ i.e. Friar Jorge de Santiago.

⁴ i.e. the notary Antonio Rodrigues.

⁵ These Latin phrases are grievously mangled by the Portuguese notary (see Henriques p.35).

if he did so, he would be unable to prove it.¹ (Ninth Examination).

The passages to be now quoted follow at once in the Records, and illustrate the conscientious inquiries of the Inquisitors into this matter (Henriques pp. 9ff.).

'Very Reverend Father,

All that I remember about that which you have ordered me to be asked is, that I saw in Paris some persons who had left, for fear of being arrested² as Lutherans, return to the City, and move freely about, without any Court interfering with them; and it was commonly reported that they had returned because a General Pardon had been granted to all who, down to that time, had fallen into Heresy. I cannot remember hearing it said who had granted the said Pardon, whether it was the Pope or the King of France; but my impression is that the said Pardon was said to have been granted by the King. (vere hac de re in neutram partem aliquid affirmo.) Neither do I know where Master Buchanan was at the time when that pardon was granted, nor if he availed himself of it. Neither do I know what tasks had to be performed by those who availed themselves of the said Pardon; nor if it was in utroque foro or in altero. . . . It is possible that the Bishop of Tangiers⁴ may have a livelier recollection of all this matter, for I think that he was already in France.

Your Reverence's Servant,
(Signed) Doctor Paio Rodrigues de Villarinho.⁵

On the twenty second day of the month of April, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, in the Court for the Transaction of Ordinary Business, of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, they swore upon the Holy Gospels the Reverend Master Priest, Gaspar dos Reis, and they asked him if he recollected, when he was in Paris,

¹ Buchanan is consistent in adopting this attitude.

² So M. Henriques translates, less happily, 'captured'.

³ rex Henriques. vere is given in his Portuguese text, and in M.

⁴ Gonçalves Pinheiro, uncle of Joam Pinheiro (see Appendix 7).

⁵ A member of the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra University.

that there came a General Pardon, which, it was said, had been granted by Pope Paul III, in which the Heretics were pardoned? He said that he recollected hearing it said, when he was in Paris, that a General Pardon had come from Pope Paul, in which all the Luther-ans were pardoned; but he cannot recollect if it was a pardon in utroque foro; and that Master Diogo de Gouvea, Canon of the Cathedral of this City, and Master Christovam Fernandes, a Physician, who resides at the Royal Hospital, may know about it And that he does not recollect at what time that Pardon appeared there, and still less does he remember seeing there this Buchanan, the Scotsman. Possibly, were he to see him he might recognize him. (Signatures follow.)

On the twenty seventh¹ day of the month of April, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, within the precincts of the Monastery of Saint Dominic, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago being there, before him appeared Master Diogo de Gouvea,² Canon of the Cathedral of this City, and by his oath upon the Holy Gospels, he asked him if he knew that in France any Pardon from the Holy Father had been published, in which he pardoned the Heretics, and if that Pardon was in utroque foro? He said that, when he was at Paris, people who were said to be guilty of the crime of heresy not only left the City but the Kingdom, and, a certain time afterwards, he, Deponent, heard say, and it was publicly said, that a General Pardon had arrived, by which all that had gone before was pardoned, down to a certain period; but that, as regards the condition and qualities of the said Pardon, he knows nothing and cannot, therefore, say if the said Pardon was in utroque foro. He, Deponent, is however absolutely certain that some of those who had so left, or hidden themselves, for fear of the Courts, returned afterwards, and appeared, without any one harming them; but he does not know if they gave themselves up, nor in what way it was that they were pardoned. Asked if he knew at what period the said Pardon came; he said that it came from the year thirty four to the year thirty six or thirty seven, approximately. . . . (Signatures.)

Master Christovam Fernandes, who cures in the Hospital, and who was mentioned by Master Gaspar, was called and said that he knew nothing of the Pardon referred to.'

¹ This (M's reading) is verified by the Portuguese text. 'Second' is Henriques' translation.

² On the question of identity see Appendix 7.

After an examination on other issues, we read as follows:--

'And at once, on the same day,¹ I, the Notary, by order of the Senhor Bishop, went to the Prison² of the Holy Inquisition where the said Master George Buchanan was, and I asked him if he wished to be settled with at once, or if he wanted more time to send for the copy of the General Pardon, which he says was granted in France in the year ³ 1544; and he, Master George Buchanan, stated that he begged them to settle with him mercifully, because he did not wish to avail himself of the said Pardon, as he has already said' (Eleventh Examination).

Here comes an interesting point. Between this passage and the Sentence on Buchanan is inserted a document in French which is printed in full by Henriques⁴ (pp.37ff.), and is a secular pardon granted by Francis I in 1535 to heretics in general. To the document is appended a short note in somewhat indifferent Latin from Friar Henri Gervase, deputy inquisitor and regent in theology at Paris, the gist of which is that he has been unable to find an apostolic indult published in Paris or in the kingdom of France (as to which inquiries had been made) in 1543 or any other year. He can only find the above-mentioned brief of Francis I dated 16 July 1535, granting pardon and restitution of goods to heretics who voluntarily return to the Church and abjure before the bishop and inquisitor or their deputies provided they are not sacramentarians. To my knowledge (he says) many took advantage of this

¹ i.e. 15 May 1551.

² So Henriques; M. and SR read 'dungeon'.

³ year 1544 H. year 534? M. (HB 1534) : year 154? SR : no Anno de quinhentos e corenta e quatro Portuguese text in H.

⁴ Henriques did not copy this document in M. He mentions that it is a General Pardon from the King, and 'is written in a character very difficult to transcribe'.

offer, and received absolution. It is not on record that the three accused abjured then.¹

Whether this pardon was or was not the document to which Buchanan referred, it is certain that the alleged Bull of Pope Paul III was an invention, and surely on Buchanan's part it must have been a conscious invention.² This being admitted, the details of the story may yet have a certain basis of fact, if only to increase the plausibility of the fiction. Buchanan's lodging with Vascosan and the visit of Messieurs Biron and de Longa are probably quite true, and may be dated to the middle of Lent 1544 -- i.e. about 21 March 1544.

Here a curious point arises. The alleged Bull is sometimes dated in 1544, sometimes in 1543. Even if the Bull is altogether fictitious Buchanan can hardly have been so inconsistent; nor, if he had been inconsistent, would the slip have passed unnoticed in a matter that was examined so closely.³ So I think 1544 is the date Buchanan alleged; and references to 1543 are probably due simply to the carelessness of the notaries.¹

¹ As I have said, the Latin of this note is poor or else incorrectly transcribed in Henriques. Partly owing to this fact, I merely summarize the document.

² The action taken by the inquisitors in concealing from Buchanan that they had obtained a copy of this pardon has been unfairly criticized by Hume Brown. Henriques is on sounder ground when he points out that the judges treated the prisoner favourably in not pressing the matter of the false declaration as they might have done and tacitly conniving at his formal withdrawal of the whole matter.

³ The second point is important. Buchanan is inconsistent in his dating of his reconciliation to the Church in 1540 or 1541, but he was not questioned on this topic.

Thus we have a glimpse of Buchanan in 1544 lodging in the Rue St. Jacques, seeing his Medea through the press, visited by his friends from Bordeaux and arranging to teach Greek to David Painter (who returned to Paris in December 1543 -- see p.123). Shortly after, however, he is struck down by a serious illness -- apparently a compound of rheumatic gout, stone, dropsy and asthma -- and is brought near to death. But his friends rally round him; Charles Estienne is his medical attendant; Gelida his principal and Turnebus daily visit him; and generous benefactors assist him financially during his enforced idleness. Finally late in the year Buchanan is sufficiently recovered to leave Paris and pay a visit to Toulouse -- possibly, can we conjecture, to seek complete restoration of his health in a brief holiday with the openhanded prelate to whom he had only recently dedicated his Medea?²

After this brief visit to Toulouse Buchanan returned to Paris and presumably resumed his teaching duties. It seems probable, however, from the offers showered upon him in 1547, that he was disengaged towards the end of this period. We know that he had left Vascosan's house, and enjoyed the hospitality of savants at the Court for several months; but it must be admitted that even yet we know less than we should like to of Buchanan's life in 1545

¹ This is all the more likely as the notaries make frequent slips. In this very matter under discussion the date is given in one of the records as 543, and in another as 544!

² This account is derived partly from Silvae iv, partly from the present Records.

and 1546 -- except that we can say from his express statements that he resided in Paris during these years. I mention this because Hume Brown¹ inferred from a poem of Buchanan's (Desiderium Lutetiae, Silvae iii) that Buchanan must have left Paris in 1545, and not seen the town again till after his return from Portugal, and frankly if Amaryllis is, as has generally been assumed, an allegorical name for Paris, Hume Brown's conclusion seems inevitable. Yet we cannot on merely inferential grounds overrule express and definite statements. The only solution of the problem I can suggest is that Amaryllis signifies Bordeaux, not Paris. This identification, in fact, gives added significance to this beautiful poem which must in this case be dated to 1550, seven years after Buchanan left Bordeaux. The scholar, entombed in a Lisbon dungeon, yearns for the happy days he spent at Bordeaux. I can see nothing in the poem inconsistent with such a theory.

The most serious problem of the 'silent years', as I have ventured to style them, is the reason for Buchanan's silence. Hume Brown (p.126) suggests that the reason was that during this period Buchanan held no permanent appointment,² though this now seems doubtful. I am far from satisfied that Buchanan's life during these years was the wandering and precarious existence described by Ruddiman in his interesting note in his commentary on the Vita and apparently

1. p.130. In this inference Hume Brown followed Ruddiman.

2 Like other suggestions put forward by Hume Brown with regard to these years, this idea seems originally to have been Ruddiman's.

BUCHANAN'S VIEWS ON JUSTIFICATION

accepted by Hume Brown; such an existence does not square with the new-found Records, which indicate that Buchanan resided at Paris and had many influential friends. In fact, one gathers that apart from his chequered health these years were fortunate enough for him. I can only suggest as a tentative solution to the problem that Buchanan was in later years unwilling to parade before a Protestant public the fact that he was at this time a prominent figure in Parisian society who numbered among his patrons members of the house of Guise.

The next mention of this topic occurs in the First Defence (p. 81) where Buchanan takes up the same attitude, insisting on the virtual identity of the Catholic and Protestant positions. While in the Fourth Examination he re-emphasizes this conviction. Here, incidentally, we gather that the 'many' theological works Buchanan had read in England reduce to one on Justification, and one on Purgatory.

BUCHANAN'S VIEWS ON JUSTIFICATION

The earliest reference made by Buchanan to this point of theological controversy is his admission that during his passing through England in 1539 he read many Lutheran books on the subject (First Examination, quoted on p.76). Further examined then, and asked if any of these things had appeared to him to be good; he said that it had appeared to him that in the matter of Justification, both the Catholics and the Lutherans felt alike, that is to say, that we were justified by Faith, which could not exist without works; and that it appeared to him that Faith and Charity, although they were different things in themselves, could not be present one without the other; that is to say, perfect Faith without Charity. Asked what he understood to be Faith, he said that it was the belief in the history of the Holy Scriptures and the confidence that, through Christ, we have access to God. Asked wherefore should we apply Christ and His Merits to ourselves; he said by Confidence, which works by Charity' (First Examination)

The next mention of this topic occurs in the First Defence (p.21) where Buchanan takes up the same attitude, insisting on the virtual identity of the Catholic and Protestant positions, while in the Fourth Examination he reemphasizes this conviction. Here, incidentally, we gather that the 'many' theological works Buchanan had read in England reduce to one on Justification, and one on Purgatory.

The general sense seems clear. Buchanan is asked whether he believes in justification by faith conditional on the subsequent presence of charity (which implies works) or in a formal justification by faith alone. He decided for the former alternative, as he was of course expected to do. This interpretation is in accordance with Buchanan's other utterances on the subject.

The inquisitors were not satisfied, and returned to the charge in the Tenth Examination (in effect, the last), apparently in order to secure from Buchanan a final and definitive confession of his error in this (as in other matters). The interrogation ran as follows:--

'Asked, as to the article of Justification, if he had held that the sinner was justified or justified himself by Faith, that Charity only would follow, or, to put it clearer, An sic peccator iustificaretur per fidem id est per fiduciam in Christo quod caritas solum consequeretur iustificationem sic quod per fidem iustificaretur formaliter et non per caritatem? He said, yes; ita quod caritas consequeretur.'¹

Without making any attempt to discuss Buchanan's views on their merits (which is not the object of this appendix, where I am only concerned with detailing Buchanan's views and his interrogation on this topic) it may be noted that his idea that Catholic and Protestant views on justification could be reconciled was far from unique at this time. Indeed, a moderate Catholic party held views that approximated to the Protestant doctrine; and at the Ratisbon Conference in 1541 agreement was actually reached on this subject by a neutral formula. The definition finally laid down at Trent, however, made reconciliation with the Protestants impossible. We may note here that the decrees on Justification were published on 13 January 1547, and so would be before the inquisitors in the present trial.

¹ The general sense seems clear. Buchanan is asked whether he believes in justification by faith conditional on the subsequent presence of charity (which implies works) or in a formal justification by faith alone. He decided for the former alternative, as he was of course expected to do. This interpretation is in accordance with Buchanan's other utterances on the subject.

(Continuation of Note).

The text as given, however, is uncertain and I suspect a lacuna or some other error. I have carefully compared the texts as given in M and by Henriques pp.10 and 36, mainly following the last, which is clearly the most accurate and differs considerably from Henriques' other text. It seems to me unnecessary to chronicle the variations in detail.

The volumes listed by the notary are as follows:

Great literature of Columbus.

Aristotle's *Integrale*, with the prologue of Philip Melancthon.

Cicero's *Oratio pro Milone*, with an exposition by Philip

Melancthon.

Orations of Julius, with expositions by Philip Melancthon.

It is not, I imagine, to be supposed that this is a complete list of Buchanan's books. One certainly lays great stress on the excessive scrupulousness of the Inquisition (at least in Spain) in making a list of everything in the prisoner's possession, but internal evidence makes it quite clear that in this case the inquisitor only thought it necessary to catalogue suspicious books. Thus it is said, for instance, that among Talley's books they found Calvin's *Institution*. In Buchanan's case we must remember that owing to his poverty his library was probably not nearly so extensive as his adversary's was.

For the text of the *Institution* in question see Henriques pp. 10 and 36. The English translation which I have used is that of John P. 403. I have also consulted the original Latin of these texts.

BUCHANAN'S LIBRARY IN 1550

Interesting information under this head is afforded by the inventory of Buchanan's books made at the time of his arrest. The volumes listed by the notary are as follows:--

Greci Literature de Colampadio.

Arismetica Integra, with the preface of Philip Melancthon.

Cicero's Oration pro Milone, with an exposition by Philip Melancthon.

Orations of Julius, with expositions by Philip Melancthon.¹

It is not, I imagine, to be supposed that this is a complete list of Buchanan's books. Lea certainly lays great stress on the excessive scrupulosity of the Inquisition (at least in Spain) in making a list of everything in the prisoner's possession; but internal evidence makes it quite clear that in this case the inquisitor only thought it necessary to catalogue suspicious books. Thus it is said, for instance, that among Teive's books they found Calvin's Institutio. In Buchanan's case we must remember that owing to his poverty his library was probably not nearly so extensive as his scholarship would lead us to

¹For the text of the minutes in question see Henriques pp. 45-6 and his English translation p.18; also the St. Andrews Memorial Volume p. 403. I adopt in the above titles the orthography of these texts.

expect; but we must not suppose it only consisted of the four volumes listed above.

The four volumes mentioned can be identified as follows:--

1. I have not succeeded in identifying this book precisely. It is obvious, however, that 'Colampadio' is Oecolampadius (Hausscheir) the reformer, and that the authorship of the book accounts for the inquisitorial suspicion.

2. *Arithmetica Integra*, auctore Michaelae Stifelio, cum praefatione Philippi Melanchthonis. Norimbergae, ap. Johan. Petreium, anno Christi MDXLIIII. A quarto of 640 pages.

The above description I have taken from the *St. Andrews Memorial Volume* Appendix III p.408.¹ It refers to one of the volumes presented by Buchanan to St. Andrews University, and is obviously the same book as that in the inquisitor's list -- probably indeed the same copy.² We can suppose that

1. The original source is Professor Lea's Appendix in the second edition of Irving's biography. See also G.Q.S. Bibliography p.508.

2. In my opinion this is made certain by the inscription "de m^e Jorge bucanano" written in the last board of the volume.

the book was on examination returned to Buchanan. The only alternative (and it seems less likely) is to assume that Buchanan thought so highly of the work that he later bought another copy.

Apparently the sole reason for the inquisitor's suspicion of this work (as of those that follow) was the association with the reformer Melanchthon. The book itself is favourably noticed by De Morgan (Arithmetical Books, pp. 19-20). Melanchthon's preface subscribed 'Wittenberg, 1 Jan. 1543' is to be found in the standard edition of his works (Corpus Reformatorum vol. V p.6).

3. This volume appears to be one of the following editions -- either (a) *Oratio Ciceronis pro Milone, cum dispositione Philippi Melanchthonis Halae ex officina Petri Bibrachii Anno Domini 1536* or (b) *Oratio Ciceronis pro Milone, cum dispositione Philippi Melanchthonis Antverpiae . . . 1536.*

At least these publications of all listed in the standard edition of Melanchthon's works (C.R. vol. XVI p. 973) seem best to fit the bill here.

4. I have been unable to trace this work as I did the one above in the standard 28 - volume edition of Melanchthon, and I strongly believe there is some error in its description here.

Among the books in Costa's possession that were considered suspicious¹ is one that may possibly have belonged to Buchanan. I refer to what the notary calls 'Dictionario Ebraico, composed by Monstero'. Now there is in Edinburgh University Library a copy of Sebastian Münster's Dictionarium Hebraicum (apud Froben, M.D.XXIII, 8vo) with the autograph inscription "Georgius Buchananus ex munificentia florentij voluseni". As Florence Wilson² died in 1544, it seems that this book must have been in Buchanan's possession in 1550, and the possibility that he obtained the book after leaving Portugal may be definitely excluded.

I think that we can account for all these facts only if we suppose that Buchanan had lent the work to Costa and so it was found in the latter's rooms. It seems certain that Buchanan possessed the work in 1550, and it also seems certain that it was not in his rooms -- or the inquisitors would have listed it as suspicious. It is true that the searchers might have noted the inscription;³ but still they could easily have overlooked it, far more easily than they could have missed the book altogether -- which is the only possible hypothesis if Buchanan had his copy in his own room. I believe my solution of this minor problem is plausible in itself and probably correct.

1. They were nine in number, some of which were of definite religious interest.

2. There is no contemporary authority for this customary Anglicizing of the name Florentius Volusenus; and the D.N.B. accordingly lists this scholar under Volusene. Buchanan's esteem for Wilson is shown by his epitaph on Wilson's death in exile (Ep. ii.12). They were doubtless friends at Paris.

3. The inscription is on the same page as the publisher's device -- the last page of the book which is in this case what would normally be the first page.

Another book which Buchanan many years later presented to St. Leonard's College has a connection with Coimbra. It is described as follows:-

Hieronymi Osorij de gloria libri v. Conimbricæ a Francisco Correa, A.D. MDXLIX, 4to.

The book is dedicated to D. João III of Portugal.

Osorius, afterwards Bishop of Silves, was a colleague of Buchanan, and taught theology at Coimbra. The present treatise is his opus magnum. It is very likely that Buchanan obtained the work at Coimbra, and, if so, it would probably be in his possession at the time of his arrest. Of course such a work would not be considered suspicious by the inquisitors.

While it would be possible to add to the meagre list already given the names of many other books that were in Buchanan's possession at a later date¹ I consider that I have enumerated above all the works that can confidently be affirmed to have been in Buchanan's possession in the year 1550.

¹See the lists of the books presented by Buchanan to the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow.

THE PORTUGUESE BACKGROUND

The object of this Appendix is to give some additional information on the Portuguese background of Buchanan's experiences and in particular on the family history of the two men who were principally responsible for Buchanan's falling into the hands of the Inquisition. My authorities for the facts adduced are mainly native Portuguese sources -- see the Bibliography for details.

Gouveia

Something has already been said in the Introduction about the character of Diogo de Gouveia the Elder¹, and tribute was paid to his genuine zeal for learning. He undoubtedly had the gift of inspiring a similar devotion in his younger relatives, as is indicated by the fact that his sister's sons adopted their mother's name, preferring the lustre shed by scholarship on the name of Gouveia to the martial glory of their father's house of Ayala.

¹The bare facts of his career are as follows. He went to France in the reign of Charles VIII, graduated as doctor of theology and for many years took a prominent part in the affairs of the University of Paris. He was Principal of Ste. -Barbe 1520-30 and again 1540-8. In the intervening years the college was directed by his nephews André (1530-4) and Diogo the Younger (1534-40). After 1548 the old man returned to Portugal, and became a Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon, where he died in 1558. The epitaph on his tombstone remarks that he served five kings of Portugal and four of France.

Of these nephews some indeed surpassed their uncle's fame. The eldest son, Marcial, taught in succession at Ste.-Barbe, Poitiers and Coimbra.¹ André, the second son, is already known to us as the famous Principal of the Collège de Guyenne and the College of Arts at Coimbra. The third son, named Diogo like his uncle, is a more shadowy figure.² The youngest of the four brothers, Antonio, a knight-errant of the Renaissance, had a distinguished career as philosopher, jurist, poet. His close friendship with Diogo de Teive and Buchanan is commemorated in the latter's poem Hend. v.³

The identification of the Diogo de Gouveia who gave evidence at Lisbon on 27 April 1551 (see Appendix 4) and of the gentleman of the same name referred to by Buchanan in his First Defence (see p. 15) is, as can well be understood, a problem of no little difficulty. Arguing mainly from

1. Teive asserts that Marcial was his enemy at Coimbra, and went repeatedly to the class-rooms, sword in hand, to prevent Costa and Teive from teaching (Defence of Teive as quoted by Henriques p. xv).
2. So much so that his very existence has been unwarrantably denied. He presumably studied at Ste.-Barbe, and later he taught at Coimbra from 1539 to 1558, becoming a professor of theology and Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon.

To increase the confusion another Diogo de Gouveia exists, known as the Younger. This scholar was the son of a brother of Diogo the Elder, and was Principal of Ste.-Barbe from 1534 to 1540. His resignation was occasioned by his failure to prevent the student revolt of Lendit 1539, and he was succeeded by one of his predecessors in office -- his uncle. The younger Diogo studied theology, took his doctor's degree, and then returned to Portugal and entered on a public career. He died in 1576 as Grand Prior of the Order of St. James of Palmella. Fortunately this Diogo does not seem to enter into the identification puzzle mentioned below.

3. Which may be dated c. 1539 when the three all taught at Bordeaux. Shortly after Antonio left for Toulouse, but a few years later we find him back at Paris. Subsequently he occupied positions at Avignon, Toulouse, Cahors, Valence, Grenoble and Turin.

internal evidence, however, I believe that the witness is not the uncle, but the brother of André.¹ On the other hand, I consider that the person referred to by Buchanan is most likely the uncle.²

Pinheiro

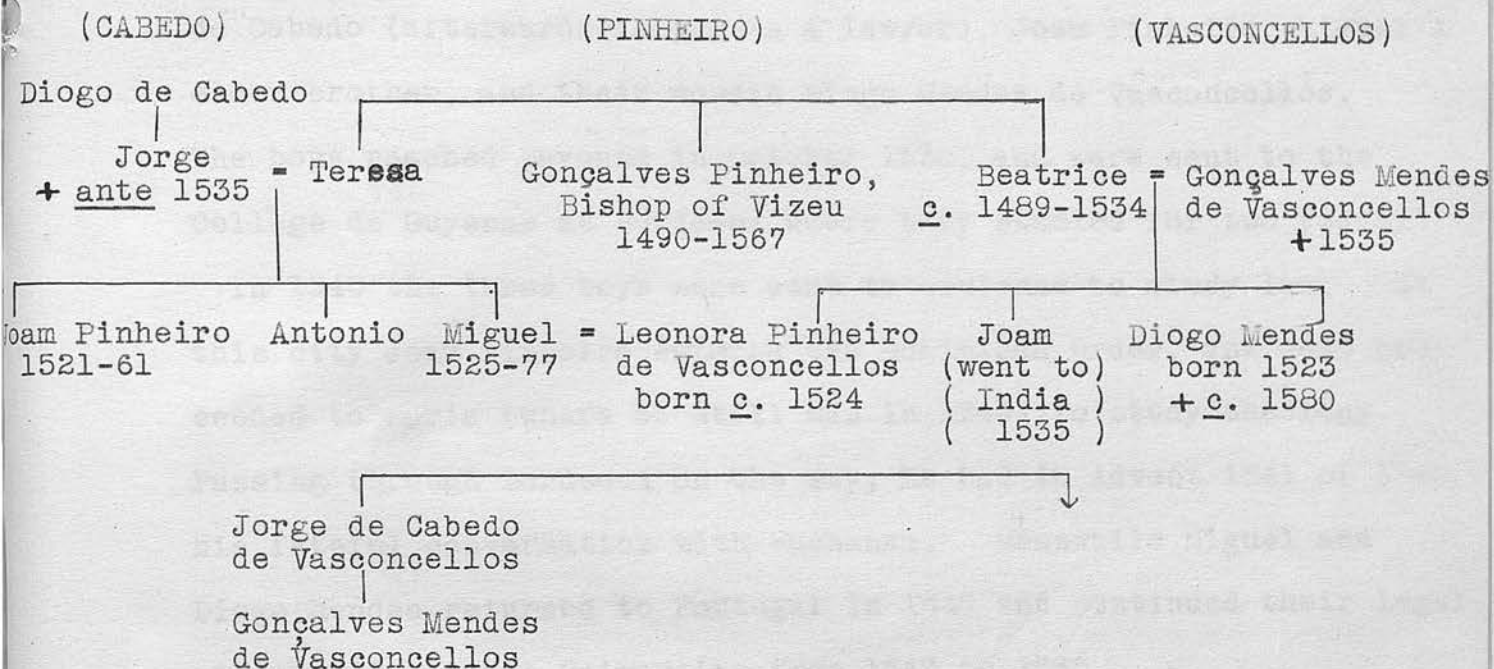
Joam Pinheiro, the Dominican friar who was the first witness examined at Paris, was the son of Jorge de Cabedo, a scion of a noble Portuguese family.³ Pinheiro was his mother's name, and Joam probably adopted this surname because of the repute of his maternal uncle Gonçalves Pinheiro, a distinguished ecclesiastic who took a great interest in the education of his several nephews.

¹I am led to this conclusion by a comparison of the text of Henriques in this case with the text of the evidence undoubtedly given by Diogo the Elder at Paris on 22 November 1549. Various differences all suggest that the respective witnesses are distinct individuals. Thus (1) in 1549 Diogo de Gouveia is styled 'Doctor Master'; in 1551 simply 'Master': (2) in 1549 he is sworn by his Orders: in 1551 by his oath upon the Holy Gospels: (3) in 1549 he signs himself 'Jacobus a Gouvea doctor'; in 1551 'Dioguo de gouuea' (sic). (Other signatures in these Records show variations, but this seems rather more variation than is usual.) (4) Also -- though this is a more debateable and intangible point -- the witness of 1551 seems more impartial and less prejudiced than that of 1549.

²He is styled 'principal' (gymnasiarcha) -- a title that might well be given honoris causa to the aged ex-Principal of Ste.-Barbe, but one to which the nephew had apparently no claim. Incidentally Henriques (possibly misled by such an honorific title) is under the impression that Diogo the Elder was at one time Principal of the College of Arts at Coimbra (and even Principal of the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux). To the supposed (and quite fictitious) supersession of Diogo in the former post by his nephew André, Henriques attributes the family quarrel which led to such untoward consequences for Buchanan. No such personal cause of resentment existed, however; I believe the true motives of Diogo the Elder's action are rather as described above pp. xxxii-v.

³See genealogical table. My facts are drawn from a careful collation of several of the lives in Schott's Hispaniae Bibliotheca.

THE RELATIONS OF PINHEIRO



I include in the above table a certain amount of perhaps unnecessary detail to make clear the interconnections of the various families.

In 1537 Gonçalves Pinheiro was sent to Bayonne on a diplomatic mission by D. João III. To this town he invited his nephew Miguel de Cabedo (afterwards famous as a lawyer), Joam Pinheiro, Miguel's elder brother, and their cousin Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos. The boys reached Bayonne in October 1538, and were sent to the Collège de Guyenne at Bordeaux where they studied for two years.¹

In 1540 the three boys were sent to Toulouse to study law. At this city Joam Pinheiro entered the Dominican Order, and next proceeded to Paris (where he still was in 1549) to study theology. Passing through Bordeaux on the way, he had in Advent 1541 or 1542 his fateful conversation with Buchanan. Meanwhile Miguel and Diogo Mendes returned to Portugal in 1543 and continued their legal studies at Coimbra University from 1543 to 1545.

Gonçalves Pinheiro, translated to the see of Tangier in 1542, returned to France as Portuguese ambassador in the following year, and settled at Paris. He was joined in 1545 by Diogo Mendes and Miguel who continued their studies at Orleans and at Paris.² In 1548 the Bishop was recalled from France, and returned to Portugal with Diogo and Miguel. He was made Bishop of Vizeu in 1553³ and died in 1567 at the age of 77.

1. They were thus at the college for the two academic sessions October 1538 to October 1540. Cf. p.x.

2. In 1547 Miguel brought out at Paris a Latin translation of the Plutus dedicated to his uncle. The publisher was Vascosan.

3. This is the date given by Schott, but Eubel Hierarchia Catholica gives the year as 1557.

Of his nephews Diogo Mendes and Miguel de Cabedo had distinguished public careers. Joam Pinheiro attained some repute as a theologian, and was sent in 1560 by King Sebastian as a delegate to the Council of Trent. He died in the following year at Rome, 39 years old.

Buchanan, while making no specific charges, succeeds in giving us an unfavourable impression of Pinheiro's character. Costa remarks in his Defence that at Bordeaux everyone used to make fun of Pinheiro on account of his great hypocrisy; and alleges that he used to eat meat on days of abstinence like other people.

Costa also states:-

'Friar Joam Pinheiro bears me enmity because I flogged him publicly, on his back, at Bordeaux, after he had attained to manhood; after which he said a thousand evil things of me, and threatened me that, sooner or later, he would have his revenge' (Henriques p.xi).

This flogging¹ was doubtless the main reason for Pinheiro's resentment, and the reason why Diogo the Elder found in him a willing tool to execute his vengeance².

¹ Whether Buchanan had anything to do with Pinheiro's punishment we cannot now tell. It should be noted that Buchanan was not at Bordeaux during Pinheiro's first session (1538-9). As to Pinheiro's age, he may have been anything from 17 to 19 at the time of this flogging.

² It should be noted that the very unsatisfactory state of affairs at the College of Arts gave the authorities real reason for concern, and a good excuse for inquiring into the lives of the principal professors. The college was divided between 'Parisienses' and 'Burdegalenses', and was overrun with personal quarrels. Henriques may be consulted for the sordid details of these differences.

One of the teachers Henriques mentions particularly unfavourably Belchior Beliagosa (nicknamed 'Belial') is attacked frequently by Buchanan in short, biting poems (e.g. *F.F. ii, Hend. vii, Lamb. vii-ix, Ep. i.18*). To judge by what his enemies say, Beliagosa was the worst type of Jew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of books is far from containing all the books consulted during the preparation of this thesis, nor is it even a full list of the books cited in its course. Its purpose is to set out my main authorities and to explain the references that occur most frequently and are not fully explained ad loc. Unless otherwise mentioned, books are cited simply by the author's name.

The list requires to be supplemented by the books described in the Critical Introduction (pp. li - lli) and by those of genealogical interest mentioned in the note on p. 146 . Other works, of importance on particular points, are also referred to in the course of the thesis.

All references to Buchanan's works are to Ruddiman's edition (2v., Edinburgh 1715).

1. General Documentary Authorities

Acts of the Lords of Council in public affairs, 1501-54. Ed. by R. K. Hannay. 1932.

Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Accounts, ed. by Sir J. B. Paul. 1900-13.

(Cited as TA)

PITCAIRN, R. Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1488-1624. 3v. 1833.

Early Records of St. Andrews. Ed. by J. Maitland Anderson. (Scot. Hist. Soc. 3rd Series vol. viii).

2. Specific work on Buchanan in Portugal.

GUTHRIE, C. J., Sheriff of Ross. Photographs of Five Documents connected with the Imprisonment, Trial, Sentence and Release of George Buchanan by the Inquisition in Portugal 16th August 1550 to 28th February 1552. (1907?)

This work contains facsimiles of certain short portions of the Lisbon Records including the first and last pages of the First Defence which are also translated. Ten copies only were printed. I have consulted that in the Edinburgh University Library which is No. 3.

3. General Works bearing on Buchanan's Life.

IRVING, D. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan. 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1817.

BROWN, P. HUME. George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer: a biography. Edinburgh 1890.

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